

Missouri Historical Review



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Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

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In addition to the largest depository of Missouri records in the world and its well-known library and reference facilities on Missouriana, the State Historical Society of Missouri has four outstanding collections open for inspection in the Society's rooms in the University of Missouri Library building in Columbia. All members of the Society and their friends and the general public are invited to see these collections when they are in Columbia:

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The George Caleb Bingham Art Collection is headed by "Order No. 11" or "Martial Law," Missouri's most famous historical painting. This canvas is a vivid portrayal of the cruelties of General Thomas Ewing's order depopulating a section of western Missouri during the Civil War to rid the area of bushwhackers. Other Bingham paintings in the collection include portraits of James Shannon, John Woods Harris, Thomas Jefferson, and Vinnie Ream Hoxie, and two genre paintings called "Watching The Cargo" or "Lighter Relieving A Steamboat Aground" and "Scene on the Ohio." "Order No. 11" now hangs in the Society's reading room.

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The Daniel R. Fitzpatrick Collection of cartoon drawings for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* includes 1,332 original sketches by the internationally famous editorial cartoonist. The cartoons cover the period from 1917 to 1945. They are mainly in the field of Missouriana with a number relating to national and international affairs. Mr. Fitzpatrick's work, which has been displayed in one-man shows in domestic and foreign museums, has been awarded numerous prizes including the Pulitzer prize of 1926. The collection was given to the Society by Mr. Fitzpatrick.

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The J. Christian Bay Collection, one of the rare selected libraries of Middle Western Americana in the United States, consists of more than 3,800 items of information fundamental in the history and literature in America's great "Middle Border." The collection is a unit of historical information on this part of the United States. Named in honor of its creator, J. Christian Bay, librarian emeritus of the John Crerar Library of Chicago and an outstanding scholar and bibliographer, the Bay Collection is housed in a special rare book room.

THE THOMAS HART BENTON GALLERY

The Thomas Hart Benton Gallery of historic art includes *The Year of Peril* series of paintings: eight historical canvases of 1942, painted by the Missouri artist, Thomas Hart Benton. Another closely associated Benton painting, entitled "The Negro Soldier" and painted at the same time as *The Year of Peril* series, is also on display in the Benton Gallery. The paintings were first used by the government of the United States in propaganda work in the form of reproductions distributed overseas. *The Year of Peril* paintings were presented to the Society by the Abbott Laboratories and Mr. Benton presented "The Negro Soldier" canvas to the Society.

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THE ANTI-HORSE THIEF ASSOCIATION OF NORTHEAST MISSOURI

BY MINNIE M. BRASHEAR¹

If Thomas Hart Benton were extending his Missouri murals to depict the social history of outlying sections of the state, he might find key figures for his purpose among the outlaws that infested the northeast corner of Missouri before and after the Civil War. Clark and Lewis counties more notoriously, but also Knox and Scotland furnished aids of various kinds and hide-outs for organized bands of thieves and cut-throats who worked in cooperation with confederates in other states. It may be said, in fact, that the most irritating task in bringing law and order out of frontier ruffianism was that of purging the state of outlaws.

One organization which sprang up in response to this need was the Anti-Horse Thief Association about which very little has been written. Probably the best source of information on its inception and activities is to be found in an eighty-page paper-bound pamphlet written and compiled by Hugh C. Gresham entitled *The Story of David McKee . . .* published in Cheney, Kansas, October 1, 1937. Mr. Gresham, who was, for a period, the editor of the *A.T.A. News*, the official publication of the National Anti-Thief Association which succeeded the A.H.T.A., assembled in his pamphlet most of the available material on the association: several sketches of David McKee, its founder; articles from various newspapers on his career and on the A.H.T.A.; the early history of the association and its first constitution; the McKee Memorial monument; and a list of all the association's officers since the beginning. From these facts assembled by Gresham and from the county histories this

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article has been written giving some of the highlights of the association's history. Permission to use the material from Gresham's pamphlet has been granted by Mrs. Hugh Gresham, Rural Route 2, Harrisonville, Missouri.

A PRIVATE F. B. I.

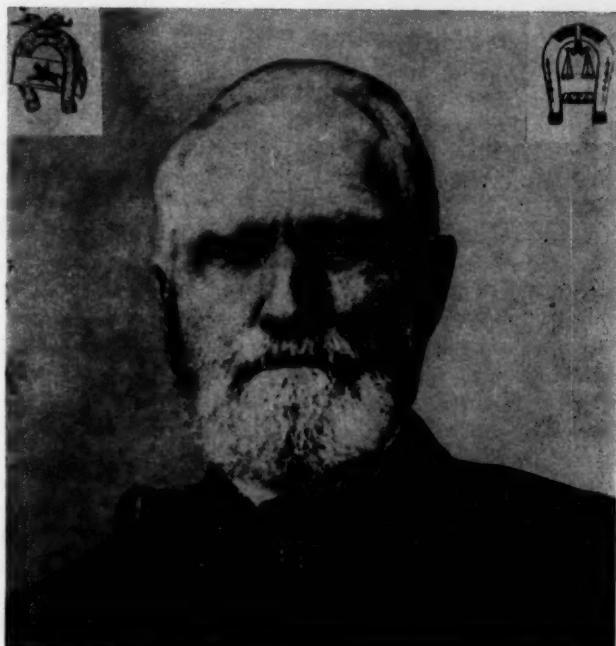
In 1854, when vigilance committees and such law enforcement means as existed were unable to deal satisfactorily with early border terrorism, David McKee, a farmer and blacksmith, who had had some experience as an amateur detective, enlisted the cooperation of the better citizens in northern Clark County in forming a secret organization, "not to hang thieves," they declared, in protest against the technique of early vigilance committees, regulators, and white caps, "but to prevent criminality." They proposed to supplement the duly constituted authorities in making the supreme will of the people respected. He called the society the Anti-Horse Thief Association or A. H. T. A. and he is said to have captured the largest number of thieves of any member before the Civil War.¹

David McKee had returned from California in 1853, where he had seen how successfully vigilance committees dealt with thieves in gold mining camps. Believing that property in Missouri could be protected just as effectively, he had real zest for making the experiment.² Having had twelve years' ex-

¹*History of Lewis, Clark, Knox, and Scotland Counties*, (St. Louis, Goodspeed, 1887), pp. 935-6.

²H. C. Gresham, *The Story of Major David McKee* (Cheney County Kan., The Author, 1937), p. 32, gives the preamble to the A.H.T.A. as follows: "Whereas, We, the citizens of North East Missouri, having suffered so long from theft committed by horse thieves and burglars that we consider it our only safeguard to bind ourselves together for the preservation of our persons and property, we call upon all honest men to join us in putting down and bringing those rogues to suffer the penalty of the civil law."

Other counties formed similar associations. An article from the *Liberty Weekly Tribune* of July 10, 1857, reads: "We understand that a society was organized last week in the vicinity of Bunker Hill, Lewis County, the object of which is protection against horse thieves and scoundrels generally. Over 100 men have already joined the society. They have elected a President, Secretary, and Treasurer; also a whip-mast, and a hang-man . . . One dollar entitles any person to membership, provided he produces a certificate from the vigilant committee. . . The frequency of horse stealings, and the facility with which thieves escape from jail, or are acquitted through the agency of accomplices, have aroused the citizens to adopt this summary system of justice. . ."



—Courtesy of Mrs. Hugh Gresham

Major David McKee



McKee Memorial Monument in Kahoka, Missouri

perience as justice of the peace and township assessor, besides being a Mason and a member of the Congregational church, McKee had considerable prestige in Clark County. He was the father of nineteen children (seven by his first marriage and twelve by his second). His family history was typical of the western migration by which the Middle West became settled.⁸ His father was a Kentuckian by birth, who after his marriage moved into Harrison County, Indiana. After living there for five years he moved to Sangamon County, Illinois. David McKee was born there in 1823, the youngest of eleven children. After his marriage in Illinois he moved in 1844 to Iowa, where he bought and operated a ferry. It may have been this experience with frontier travelers that suggested his undertaking detective service. He moved to Clark County, Missouri, in 1848.

The records of the accomplishments of the Anti-Horse Thief Association before the Civil War are scanty.⁹ Several times, according to a local reporter, McKee, disguising himself, captured and returned stolen horses. Once when he considered the criminal he had arrested unusually dangerous, and when he arrived at Athens too late to continue on to the county seat that night, after handcuffing himself to the man, he and his prisoner ate and slept handcuffed together until the next day when he delivered him to the county authorities. On this trip he was so cleverly disguised that his own children, not recognizing him, were frightened at the appearance of two strange men in their home chained together.¹⁰

While in Iowa David McKee bought a pair of elk, had harness made for them and by coaxing them with an ox team, broke them with much difficulty to drive to a buggy. After some correspondence with P. T. Barnum, he was induced by the showman to bring them to New York. He sold half interest in them to John D. Smith, and with his partner drove them to LaSalle on the Illinois River and from there took them by canal boat to Chicago. From there they shipped the

⁸*History of Lewis, Clark, Knox, and Scotland Counties*, pp. 935-6; *The A.T.A. News*, Cheney, Kansas, September 28, 1934, a reprint of an article by J. E. Jenkins in the *Monett (Missouri) Times* of April 1, 1927.

⁹S. S. Ball, "Major David McKee—Empire Builder" in H. C. Gresham, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-26.

¹⁰Gresham, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

elk on the *Old Sultana*, a steamer, to Buffalo and proceeded by railway to Albany. Then they were shipped on a boat to New York, where they received much attention as they drove along Broadway, "two big stout western men setting in a buggy drawn by two elks . . . All horses gave way as we drove along. Men, women and boys followed along the side-walks . . . We had lots of reporters of papers to call on us [at the Jersey Note hotel] and tickets sent us to attend Barnum's Museum and many other places of amusement." The auto-biographical note records that the partners sold the elk before leaving New York, whether to Barnum or not does not become clear.⁶

When the war broke out McKee became second lieutenant in the Home Guards in Clark County. Later he was appointed recruiting officer on the Union side by General Frémont and raised a regiment of cavalry, the Seventh Missouri Cavalry Volunteers, of which he was elected major. He served with distinction in a number of engagements, notably at Marshall, Lexington, Sedalia, and Springfield. He resigned his commission in July, 1863, on account of disabilities contracted in the service and returned home.⁷

So unbridled had thieving become during the war that Major McKee was requested upon his return to Clark County to revive the A.H.T.A. The war had so completely disrupted the courts in the county that to prosecute criminals was almost out of the question. Consequently in September, 1863, he called together all the original members of the association that could be reached to meet with him at Luray in Clark County for the discussion of possibilities, and a month later at Millport in Knox County for reorganization. At another meeting in Millport in March, 1864, eight sub-orders were represented, for the purpose of agreeing upon a charter and adopting a constitution.⁸

The constitution provided that a committee be appointed whose duty was: "when a person or persons have been arrested

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8. Reprint of an article "Death of Major David McKee," in the *Kahoka Gazette-Herald*, March 12, 1896; *ibid.*, pp. 49-51.

⁸Gresham, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

and handed over to them charged with theft, they shall investigate the case and if they think there is sufficient cause to found a prosecution, they shall hand them over to the civil law, attending personally and with the assistance and influence of the society to their legal prosecution." Provision was made for a sub-committee to deal with suspects. Its "duty shall be to hunt two days diligently for the trail of the thief" in cooperation with the owner of the stolen property, to follow up the thief after his trail has been discovered, and if he is caught to hand him over to the proper authorities. One of the by-laws provided that "anyone serving on detail or committee shall receive one dollar per day and have all reasonable expenses paid"—the same whether for day or night riding. "Any member refusing to act on a pursuing committee shall be fined five dollars."

Major McKee's dream was of a closely knit neighborhood cooperating to stamp out lawlessness. While part of its members pursued thieves the rest at home would care for the farm crops and stock and families of those engaged in the pursuit. Opposed to mob violence in any form, it was a "fraternal, protective, and detective organization" that had for its motto "To protect the Innocent and bring the Guilty to Justice." As it was a secret lodge there are few records of specific cases handled by it. E. Hitt Stewart wrote that the A.H.T.A. "in a year's time scores as good a percent at catching criminals as does Pinkerton." The difference is that "Pinkerton will work on a case if there is enough money in it . . . The Anti's also have but one consideration, and that is principle."¹⁰

The first annual meeting of the Grand Order was at Memphis, Missouri, in October, 1864, with Major McKee president. By 1885 there were 184 charters issued to sub-orders with 4,973 members and by 1912 there were 1,113 sub-orders with

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 32-8.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 26.

41,000 members. The association was particularly strong at Springfield, Joplin, and Webb City.¹¹

After the Civil War the unfenced, sparsely settled parts of Kansas were infested with roving bands of thieves. To deal with these a small group of men met in a dugout in Republic County, Kansas, and formed the state's first A.H.T.A. The organization grew rapidly in Kansas and came to be thought of there as a distinctly Kansas institution. In 1909 a ladies auxiliary was organized at Sedan, Kansas, chiefly for social welfare work.¹² An outstanding event in the history of the association was when the Kansas Bankers Association joined the order in 1900. By 1916 eleven states were sending representatives to the national convention: Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Iowa.

But the first World War, the Klan, the depressions of 1921 and 1929, the automobile, the dropping of "Horse" from the name, and the starting of similar organizations for profit caused the membership to drop to 8,000 in 1932.

A report of the state convention held in Salina, Kansas, in October, 1920, says that its power and force came from the fact that it included farmers and business men, employees and em-

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 74 publishes the following statistics to show the growth of the association:

Year	Number of sub-orders	Number members
1854	1	6
1864	4	not given
1885	184	4,973
1890	253	7,059
1900	379	10,191
1910	1,051	35,738
1912	1,113	41,685
1916	not given	50,000

¹²The aims and objects of the auxiliary as listed in Gresham, *op. cit.*, p. 73, are:

- Better homes with more religious teaching for the children.
- Helping to procure homes for the unfortunate.
- Protecting young girls from the white slave traffic.
- Teaching boys to avoid the drug and liquor habits.
- Preaching to foreigners how to become good American citizens.
- Aiding the sick and needy, especially children.
- Doing all within our power to eliminate crime.
- Assisting the anti-theft association in all their work.

ployers organized with one common purpose—the elimination of crime. In suppressing crime the association is giving just that much strength to the foundation stone of this government, liberty.¹³

Victor Murdock, Kansas Congressman and editor of the *Wichita Eagle* wrote: "Always I have thought of the A.H.T.A. as a tonic to the moral health of the communities it served . . . I have seen enough of its work to know that in thousands of cases the A.H.T.A., under the menace of organized righteousness, has caused evil members of society to correct themselves."

After automobile thieves became a greater menace than horse thieves in the Middle West the name of the organization was changed to the Anti-Thief Association. The newspaper published for half a century at Cheney, Kansas, was changed from the *A.H.T.A. Weekly News* to the *A.T.A. News*.

With the development of modern methods of apprehending criminals the society has been gradually losing ground, but it has had the vigor to outlive its period of usefulness. It is of interest now chiefly to the historian, as the vestigial remains of a method in pioneer Missouri when neighbors, cooperating for mutual protection, supplemented the law.

¹³Gresham, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-42. Reprint of an article, "The Anti's—Aims and Purposes of the Organization Set Forth," from the *Clark County Courier* of June 18, 1909.

A CLAY COUNTIAN'S LETTERS OF 1834

EDITED BY WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.*

Letters from John Chauncey, of Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, to Francis J. Dallam, of Baltimore, Maryland,¹ provide a good view of conditions in that county in 1834 and a vivid picture of the struggle with the Mormons who had attempted to set up a "New Zion" in Jackson County. Much of the description is concerned with the advantages and disadvantages facing immigrants to Missouri, especially from the point of view of business. Dallam himself had lived in Nashville, Tennessee, from 1804 to 1809, before returning East to settle in Baltimore, and one of his brothers, Richard B. Dallam, had joined other members of the family in St. Louis in the early 1820's, so that he was reasonably familiar with the problems facing settlers in the western border region. At the time these letters were written Dallam was nearing the end of fifteen years of service as city collector of Baltimore, and he had mentioned the possibility of a removal westward.

Chauncey's letter of January 23rd, 1834, includes one paragraph which serves as an introduction to his main topic. He wrote: "We have a fine country here and I am convinced that many of our Harford friends² would do well by emigrating to it. The soil is fertile and country generally healthy with a good frontier market for all kinds of produce." The next letter, dated April 17th, embarks on the subject of the West

*WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., a native of New Brunswick, New Jersey, is a graduate of Washington and Lee University, B.S. 1932, M.A. 1933, and received a Ph.D. in history from The Johns Hopkins University in 1940. He was assistant director of the Maryland Historical Society in 1943 and editor of *Maryland History Notes* for 1943-47, *State and Local History News* for 1943-49, and *Between Librarians* for 1946-47. Since 1947 he has taught at Loyola College, Baltimore, and is now associate professor of history there.

¹The original letters are in the *Dallam Papers* at the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.

²Francis Johnson Dallam (1787-1857) was the son of Josias William Dallam of Harford County, Maryland. He was brought up in that section and retained close connections with his family and friends there throughout his life.

and western manners, and continues with a recommendation of Mississippi as the ideal place to live:

"You say that you have a great desire to remove and locate in a new country for the benefit of your children, and ask my advice and where I would recommend you to locate—If you are realy sincere about this matter I will be equally so in giving my advice and opinion, which is this. The advantages which you enjoy at present you ought to be satisfied with, and by no means think of giving them up as long as they will hold to you, with a view to better your situation, or advance the interest of your children by removing to a new country—An individual it is true, with the means that you could go with, could not *well fail* to secure to their children an independency, either by an investment in lands, Mercantile business, or loaning out money &c. but sir, their are many other things to be taken in account, in settling in a new country, some of which I will state—In the first place you must expect to give up a fine and pleasant society and adopt yourself to suit the Western Manners and customs, who are composed of a mixt society without regard to wealth, occupation (and too often) character. The shoemaker in most of these new countries, ranks equal with the Lawyer, Doctr., or Merchant. You will find them at parties of pleasure mingling together without distinction in the true spirit of democracy. This I am sensible would not be congenial to yours nor familys notions of etiquette in social intercourse.

"With regard to this country,⁹ Mercantile business is by far the most profitable at present, and in order to give you an idea of it, I will state that their are at present seven stores in this place, who sell on an average about \$120,000 in goods annually, at a profit of at least 75 cts on cost. This state of things will not, I apprehend, continue long, as their are a great many eastern Merchants coming on this season to this upper country, none however, as I have understood to this place. Consequently, this will create a greater competition.

⁹*History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri . . .* (St Louis, National Historical Co., 1885), pp. 118-9. By 1830 Clay County had 5,338 inhabitants. Prosperity had come by the river route, for steamboats had begun to ply regularly by that time.

"Money will command from 12½ to 50 per ct. The country is furtile, well watered and healthy. Land in the neighborhood of this place with some improvement can be purchased at \$5 or 6 per acre. I would however (from what information I have had of Mississippi) advise one of your capital to go their, either for Mercantile purposes or any other pursuit. It is a fine cotton country which will always command money. The lands are said to be very fine, the country healthy and settling rapidly by wealthy men from Virginia, and other slave holding states. Their are a part of these lands, not yet come into market, which is said to be very desirable. Should you determine on removing to that country I would advise you to purchase as many blacks as you may have means to buy with, as they will command the cash their with a considerable advance.

"You perhaps may think strange that I should advise you to remove to a country which I did not locate in myself, but sir, if you knew how unstable the settlers of the far West generally are, you would only conclude that one year's residence was sufficient to constitute an eastern man a western one in every sense of the word. They are not unlike the wandering arabs, continually moving to and fro in search of gain, and a country still more furtile and offering new adventures. Tho this country fully meets my expectations, and tho I have made a good purchase, yet you must not be surprised, should you learn at some future period, that I had sold out here and gone god knows where, perhaps to Mississippi."

The third letter, written on June 27th, after brief comment on the lack of opportunities for young men starting in business, describes at length the clash of the Missourians with the Mormons. There is nothing new in Chauncey's account, but it is interesting to have this on-the-scene report:

"With regard to the information as respects your ward, I am sorry to have to say, he has no chance to get a situation here, as the Merchants are all supplied with a sufficient number of young men—indeed I find they prefer those who have been raised in the West, as they say their manners are best suited to please the country dwellers.

"Were you to allow me to advise your *ward* in regard to selecting a country with a view to gain a proper knowledge of Mercantile business, I would advise him to remain in Bal. or go to some eastern city, unless he has the means to engage in the business for himself at a proper age. In that case, I would advise him to come to the West, as it would be to his advantage to first adapt himself to the manners and customs of the inhabitants. The youths of this country are generally indolent and careless, consequently they cannot become first rate business Merchants.

"We are in the midst of war and rumors of war. Genl Jackson in concentrating in himself the whole government, neglected to extend his Emperial arm over Jackson County in this state. Consequently, the citizens of the county have taken upon themselves to establish a government of their own, by nullifying and establishing a rule of action in lieu thereof.

"The facts are these—some two or three yrs. since, a religious sec. of people called Mormons settled in that county. Their leader (Smith) professed to be a profet, inspired by the holy spirit, who has published a book, which he says, he dug out of a rock in the western part of the state of New York, written on leaves of gold; that he was directed by the angel of god to the spot; instructed by him to make it known to the world; and that it had been there, as a safe depository since the first coming of Christ. Sometime last fall the sovereign people of Jackson took it upon themselves, for reasons best known to themselves, to drive them from their lands and homes, which they succeeded in after some two or three lives were lost on both sides. They sought refuge in this county, where they have been kindly treated, to the number of 1000.⁴ Their profet being then with a part of his church in the north west of Ohio, after learning the disaster which had befel his people, put forth a revelation stating that god would restore them again on the land of

⁴*History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri*, pp. 133-6. After Jackson County drove the Mormons out, many took refuge in Clay County. Every vacant cabin in the south half of the county was occupied by fugitives. A few purchased land and homes but most rented homes. When Clay County received them kindly some of the Jackson Countians became indignant and stigmatized the Clay Countians as "Jack Mormons." By 1838 nearly all of the Mormons had left Clay.

Zion, and forthwith set about gethering the young men of his church, to the number of 500, all well armed with guns, swords, pistols & knives, and took up his line of march for this country with a view to assist his people in the holy crusade.

"He arrived here a few days since, and is incamp't within a mile of this place with his army. The citizens of Jackson hearing of his movement imbodyed themselves for the conflict. Some of the neighboring counties became excited in behalf of Jackson and most of their citizens rushed to the tented field to take part in the conflict. In the mean time commissioners were appointed by the beligerent Powers to negotiate if possible, peace. Their negotiations are still going. How it may terminante time will develope. The Ministers on the part of Jackson insist on the relinquishment of the Mormons territory in said government by paying value therefor. The Ministers on the part of the Mormons state as a sine que non they can never surrender their lands, as god directed them there and there allowed to build up his holy temple for the gathering of the scattered tribes of Izerald. Thus matters stand. My impressions are we shall have more smoke than fire."

THE MISSOURI RADICALS AND THE ELECTION OF 1864

BY WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW*

During the Civil War the Republican party lost some of its initial radicalism. The conservative element which was developing was led by President Lincoln himself. These moderates felt that the restoration of the Union was the all-important objective to be attained by the war, regardless of slavery. Against this policy the radicals argued that this objective was insufficient and pressed further for immediate emancipation, the confiscation of "rebel" property, and the employment of Negro troops.

Lincoln's controversy with the radical clique over its policies reached its climax in the year leading up to the presidential election of 1864. The principal bone of contention was the manner and method of reconstructing the Union after the war was over. So anxious were the radicals to win control over the reconstruction process that they began to consider seriously the possibility of repudiating Lincoln and putting one of their own men in the White House.¹

Any study of the radical Republican opposition to Lincoln's re-election in 1864, even of the most cursory nature, reveals that much of it emanated from Missouri. During the war Missouri's position was unique. As one of the border states it represented extremes of northern and southern partisanship, and within the framework of the former group extremes of conservatism and radicalism. Thus, we have in Missouri a perfect microcosm for the study of the radical and moderate clash over war policies.

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¹Thomas Harry Williams, *Lincoln and the Radicals* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin, 1941), pp. 4-10.

In Missouri there were many who did not sympathize with the administration's attempt to coerce the South and many of them waged guerrilla warfare on the Union troops. General John C. Frémont, commander of the Western Military Department, sought to deal with this guerrilla warfare by issuing a proclamation declaring that the slaves of any person who took up arms or assisted in the field the enemies of the country were to be freed. Up to August, 1861, when this document was issued, the conflict had been a war for the purpose of restoring the Union, and no members of the administration or other officers in the field had suggested the wartime abolition of slavery except as a final measure of military necessity to prevent the disruption of the Union. Frémont's proclamation, if its principles were sustained and applied elsewhere, would transform the war into a war of liberation. This hasty proclamation was subsequently modified at Lincoln's orders and Frémont was later removed from his command on November 2, 1861, when he incurred the wrath of Frank Blair, political leader in Missouri. Frank's brother, Montgomery, was in Lincoln's cabinet and was in an excellent position to present Frémont's career to the President in the most damaging light.

The most important result of Frémont's proclamation was that it hastened the development of the rift between the radicals and moderates throughout the nation. This cleavage was quite marked in Missouri. The conservative (Claybank) faction was led by Governor Hamilton R. Gamble and Frank P. Blair. The radicals (Charcoals) were led by Charles D. Drake, B. Gratz Brown, Henry T. Blow, and Benjamin Loan. The radicals favored immediate emancipation and hated the Blair influence in the state, especially the family's control over the militia and the patronage.

In 1862 the radicals completed their organization and began to press their program: immediate emancipation, confiscation of the land of Confederate sympathizers, the enforcement of a rigid loyalty oath, and control over the militia. At the Union League of America meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, on May 20, 1863, and through a petition from a subsequent meeting of the Missouri radicals at St. Louis, they demanded that

Lincoln also remove conservative General John Schofield, commander of the Western Military Department, as well as certain moderates from his cabinet such as Montgomery Blair, William Seward, and Edward Bates. Schofield's presence in the West, the radicals argued, threw Missouri even more completely into the hands of Gamble, Blair, and the conservatives.

The Missouri State Convention attempted to deal with the emancipation question, but since the radicals did not control the meeting it resulted only in the passage of an ordinance providing for very gradual emancipation to be accomplished by 1870. This was too much for the radicals, and they began calling more mass meetings. Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, Kansas, late in August fanned the flames of resentment higher, and Schofield was blamed for failing to prevent it.

The discontent culminated in the calling of a Radical Convention at Jefferson City on September 1, 1863. A set of resolutions was adopted demanding that Schofield be replaced by Benjamin F. Butler, that the "intolerable pro-slavery oppression" of the Blairs be terminated, and the state militia be disbanded. The radicals claimed that Frank Blair was using the militia as a private janissary to terrorize his opponents. A delegation of seventy men headed by Charles D. Drake was commissioned to bear these demands to Washington.¹⁴ The arrival of the delegation figured prominently in the preparations for the presidential election which were just beginning at the time.

The radical opposition to Lincoln's renomination gained momentum during 1863. Long before the end of his first term they were casting about for a likely candidate with whom to displace him in 1864. It was not long before the names of Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, Frémont, and Butler were being mentioned. Of these three Chase seemed to be the man most likely to succeed in securing the nomination.

During the fall elections of 1863, Chase used his patronage and his treasury agents to gain some powerful allies in several states. In this work he did not overlook the developments in the hot-bed of radicalism—Missouri. Chase was fully informed

¹⁴Appleton's Annual Cyclopedie for 1863 (New York, 1864), pp. 655, 861.

of developments in that state. His agent, William P. Mellen, who had been traveling up and down the Mississippi for several months in an effort to secure support for his chief, was busy making a careful study of the situation in Missouri. In June, 1863, he warned Chase to be careful not to become too closely identified with either faction, because of the fact that many Claybanks might yet join the Charcoals and also because of the factional strife between B. Gratz Brown and Charles Drake within the latter group.² By August, however, the rift between the two groups seemed to have widened, while Brown and Drake seemed to have united for the purpose of attacking Lincoln. The Missouri radicals began to press for a complete change in the personnel of the St. Louis custom house, which was filled with Blair's men, and they assured Mellen that they would not support Lincoln for the renomination.³ B. Gratz Brown was quite angry with Lincoln, because the President had kept him waiting in the executive offices one day for five hours and then refused to see him.⁴

One factor which involved Chase in the Missouri controversy was the question of trade on the Mississippi. Shortly after the fall of Vicksburg Chase discussed the whole matter of river traffic with Charles Drake.⁵ The river had been closed to trade, and this greatly aroused the conservatives, who in most cases came from the mercantile classes. These merchants were not averse to cooperating with the Blair-Gamble faction to loosen the restrictions on commerce. Early in July a memorial had been prepared and presented to Chase stating the arguments in favor of freer trade on the Mississippi. Chase promised to give the matter closer study, but he took no steps to remove the restrictions. This, of course, aroused the conservatives against him and rallied the radicals to his defense. On September 29, Frank Blair published an open letter to Lincoln criticizing Chase's policies.⁶ Blow assured Chase that

²William Mellen to Chase, June 27, 1863, *Chase MSS.* Unless otherwise stated the Chase papers are in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

³William Mellen to Chase, August 6, 1863, *Chase MSS.*

⁴William Mellen to Chase, June 27, 1863, *Chase MSS.*

⁵Chase to William Mellen, July 9, 1863, *Chase Letter Books* (Library of Congress).

⁶*Missouri Democrat*, September 29, 1863.

Blair's letter was entirely a political maneuver, and the secretary's lieutenant, Mellen, ranged up and down the river talking with radicals and attempting to get their press to "correct false statements and to maintain proper feeling on the subject of trade restrictions."¹ Mellen now urged Chase to commit himself completely to the radical cause in Missouri, and a few days later Chase wrote to Blow pledging his support.²

In the meantime Drake and his committee went to Washington by slow stages, for they were anxious to rally public opinion on their side along the way. They finally arrived at the capital on September 27, and Lincoln immediately invited their secretary, Emil Preterius, to the White House for a talk. Lincoln listened patiently to all Preterius had to say. The following day the leaders of the committee prepared an address to Lincoln reiterating their desire to have Butler instead of Schofield.³ The next day the delegates, who had been joined by a delegation from Kansas, appeared before the President who could offer them little hope for a successful mission.⁴ Drake sought to play on Lincoln's emotions when he said he spoke for those who would have to "return to inhospitable homes where rebel sentiments prevail." He warned the President that their blood would be upon his head if he allowed the militia and pro-slavery men to continue their depredations. Lincoln was still unperturbed, and the delegates departed to seek a more appreciative audience.

The committee paid a brief visit to Secretary of War Stanton and had a talk which the members believed might be "productive of good results."⁵ That evening, September 30, they visited Chase who told them:

I have long believed that universal freedom and just wages for labor, are the true foundations of a Democratic republic . . . In these days, the first question to ask is, who are the men in any State who

¹William Mellen to Chase, September 10, 1863, *Chase MSS.*

²Chase to Henry Blow, September 23, 1863, *Chase Letter Books*, (Library of Congress).

³New York Tribune, September 20, 1863.

⁴John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, Century, 1890), VIII 214-218.

⁵Missouri Democrat, October 5, 1863.

first earnestly and unconditionally maintain the Union against the rebellion? And, having found out who they are, stand with them . . .¹³

The following day the radical delegation made an attempt to have a second interview with the President, but they were unsuccessful except for the fact that they were permitted to submit three additional addresses to him.¹⁴

Lincoln delayed a final answer to the Missouri problem until October 5. On that day, however, he presented an official reply which rejected nearly all their demands.¹⁵ Drake and his friends left town in a huff; denouncing Lincoln and predicting that he would "live to see and regret his mistake."¹⁶

The reaction to Lincoln's rejection of the Missouri committee's demands came swiftly. A large mass meeting was held at Cooper Institute, New York City, in favor of the radical cause. John Wilkes wrote that he could plainly see the guiding hand of the arch conservative Seward behind Lincoln's action.¹⁷ Theodore Tilton's *Independent* stated that Lincoln had "not committed . . . a graver fault since the day he quenched Frémont's proclamation . . ."¹⁸ The New York *Herald* deplored the "fumbling of Lincoln and Company" which was causing "a prodigious social revolution" in Missouri.¹⁹ The conservatives, on the other hand, were happy over Lincoln's letter and printed many copies of it to distribute as campaign literature.

Chase later met the members of the Missouri delegation on the way home from their fruitless visit. The secretary expressed his sympathy for their cause and promised them aid if they saw fit to call upon him.²⁰ Shortly afterward Chase penned a letter to Drake expressing his further dissatisfaction with the whole affair. He wrote in part:

¹³Chicago *Tribune*, October 2, 1863.

¹⁴New York *Tribune*, October 3, 1863.

¹⁵John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* IX, ([Cumberland Gap, Tenn., Lincoln Memorial University, 1894]), 155-164.

¹⁶National *Intelligencer* (Washington) October 27, 29, 1863.

¹⁷Wilkes' *Spirit of the Times*, October 10, 1863.

¹⁸New York *Independent*, October 29, 1863; Theodore Tilton to Chase, October 28, 1863, *Chase MSS.*

¹⁹New York *Herald*, October 4, 5, November 10, 1863.

²⁰Cincinnati *Commercial*, October 13, 1862.

Let the unconditional Union men be patient and work . . .

Let the President receive the respect due to his position and I must add, to his character, though he disappoints us; for I am sure he means to do right. Let it be remembered too as a point of prudence that among those who sympathize with the Unconditional Unionists there are those who would be alienated by even imagined injustice to him; many who would upon an issue with him shrink from your side for fear of dividing the party, or for fear of losing caste with the controller of patronage. These notions are powerful and the last not the least powerful.

Consider your steps—be prudent—be resolute. Stand manfully to your principles for they are right. Conciliate all you can without sacrificing them and overcome all you cannot conciliate.²⁰

Chase also expressed similar views to other friends; he said that even though he was unhappy over the incident, he would support the administration in silence.²¹ Others, however, were not supporting the affair in silence. The *Missouri Democrat* censured the President for his actions and gave even more support to Chase.²² The radicals had a further grievance against Lincoln when Montgomery Blair spoke against them at Rockville, Maryland, on October 3. Congressman Henry Blow of Missouri denounced the Blairs.²³ Old Thad Stevens of Pennsylvania was heard to exclaim that if Lincoln did not discharge the postmaster at once, the party would have to seek a new President.²⁴ Blair, however, remained in the cabinet; the Missouri election that fall went to the conservatives; and the radicals were more angry than ever.

Some of Lincoln's friends did not think he was taking the whole affair seriously enough. "The President has got his head full of the idea that the recent 'Missouri Delegation' was a corrupt caucus to make General Butler the next President—a point on which he is very sensitive," wrote Horace White. "Nothing will convince him that there is anything serious in the Missouri question until civil war actually begins. I think

²⁰Chase to Charles Drake, October 26, 1863, *Chase Letter Books*.

²¹Chase to E. D. Mansfield, October 27, 1863; Chase to Theodore Tilton, October 31, 1863, *Chase Letter Books*.

²²October 14, 1863.

²³*Missouri Democrat*, October 5, 1863.

²⁴Thad Stevens to Chase, October 8, 1863, *Thad Stevens MSS* (Library of Congress).

the Senate ought to reject Schofield the first thing . . ."²⁸ The tension further increased in October with the removal of William W. Edwards from his position as United States District Attorney in the Eastern District of Missouri. The radicals branded this act as "war from the White House upon the friends of Mr. Chase."²⁹ On November 6, the chief radical organ in Missouri wrote that Lincoln had removed two hundred radicals from their offices.³⁰ Many saw in the Missouri question Lincoln's chief problem and his main threat to re-election.³¹ The President worked hard to secure a solution which would satisfy both sides.

On November 10, 1863, the Missouri legislature met at Jefferson City and tackled the difficult problems of selecting the two senators from the state. Lincoln dispatched Elihu Washburne to Missouri as his representative, and his presence could not have been without some influence in resolving the problem. John B. Henderson, an anti-slavery conservative, was selected for the term ending March 4, 1869, and B. Gratz Brown, an out-spoken radical and anti-Lincoln man, was selected for the term ending March 3, 1867. During the balloting Schofield opposed Brown, whose friends tried finally to arrange a bargain. Schofield refused to accept the proposal, and Washburne returned to Washington to inform the President that the general had prevented a possible radical-conservative reconciliation. Lincoln decided to propitiate the radicals; Schofield was summoned to the capital and told that he was to be assigned to other duties. To save his feelings he was to be promoted to major general. B. Gratz Brown gave Lincoln to understand that he would not oppose this promotion by the senate.³² Schofield was finally confirmed in his new position, but he always felt he had been a scapegoat for the radicals who

²⁸Horace White to William Fessenden, November 7, 1863, *Fessenden MSS* (Library of Congress).

²⁹R. S. Hart to Chase, Oct. 30, 1863, *Chase MSS* (Library of Congress).

³⁰*Missouri Democrat*, Nov. 6, 1863.

³¹B. Smith to Elihu Washburne, Jan. 15, 1864. *Washburne MSS* (Library of Congress).

³²Tyler Dennett (ed.), *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1939), pp. 137-138, 139-140. Entries of December 13, 23, 1863.

were scheming to advance Chase for the presidency.²⁰ Both senators Brown and Henderson approved the appointment of General Rosecrans as Schofield's successor in Missouri.

The radicals had become further enraged with Lincoln and the conservatives when Henderson was chosen as senator. One of them wrote:

The election of such a man to the Senate, right on the heels of Lincoln's reply to the Missouri delegation and the subsequent and consequent dismissal of Edwards as District Attorney of Eastern Misouri, is a most impressive event and omen. It says to us distinctly as I read it—"the time has come to hang out the radical banner" . . . I cannot support the administration to reelection, let what will come . . . I believe it is better for us and for the country in the long run, to be defeated if we must, with Chase as our Candidate, than to have the Blair-Seward, Lincoln administration upheld by our votes . . .²¹

The announcement of the dismissal of Schofield and the subsequent appointment of Rosecrans poured oil on the troubled waters. The radicals regarded the President's action as evidence of his admission that he had been wrong in his earlier stand on the Missouri question. The radicals reciprocated the action of Lincoln by stating that they did not plan to make Chase their candidate for the presidency unless the President kept "Rockville" Blair and "Granny" Bates in the cabinet.²²

Thus, for the time being at least, Lincoln had resolved the delicate problem of Missouri without sacrificing his friends, Blair and Bates, and without losing the open support of the radicals. The settlement, however, was only a temporary one; in fact, at the very moment Schofield was being removed, Congressman Henry Blow addressed the Union League in Washington and attacked the conservatives and Lincoln unmercifully.

Early in 1864, both Chase and Frémont were actively seeking the Republican nomination. The radical bosses were perplexed by the appearance of two candidates of the same stripe

²⁰John M. Schofield, *Forty-Six Years in the Army* (New York, Century, 1897), pp. 77, 108-112.

²¹Joshua Leavitt to Charles Sumner, November 18, 1863, *Sumner MSS* (Widener Library, Harvard University).

²²Donnal V. Smith, *Chase and Civil War Politics* (Columbus, Ohio, Heer, 1931), pp. 84-85.

vying for their support, and for the time being, at least, they remained aloof until they could learn the full extent of the two candidates' popularity among the people. If they attacked Lincoln, the radical leaders knew they must have the public behind them, and during the early months of 1864 it was abundantly clear that he was still revered by the people. The radicals soon found that the people would accept no other candidate than Lincoln, and they were finally forced to support him, reluctantly.

In addition to the fact that the unfailing popular support drove the radicals into Lincoln's camp there were two other factors which account for their inability to supplant him with a more acceptable candidate. In the first place, the radicals were not able to agree among themselves on a likely candidate to succeed Lincoln. Chase seemed to be the most preferable, but others were thinking of Butler, Frémont, Rosecrans, Morton, and even Grant. It was this factionalism among the radicals which prevented any really concerted action against the chief executive.

The third factor which assured the renomination of Lincoln was the fact that he boasted the only effective organization and had an extensive control over the patronage. He did not spare the use of these two assets in seeking the renomination. The central executive committee of the party, the state organizations, and the local conventions, all worked for his renomination.²⁸

Lincoln's most formidable rival, Chase, withdrew in March. His party managers attempted to rouse public opinion against Lincoln by publishing two malignant documents against him: *The Next Presidential Election* and *The Pomeroy Circular*. These two documents boomeranged back on Chase. Late in February two key states, Ohio and Indiana, came out for Lincoln. After this Chase realized that his opportunities were gone, and he withdrew from the race on March 5. With the withdrawal of Chase, all the other aspirants except Frémont likewise withdrew.

²⁸Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1943), pp. 228-299.

The legislatures in several states declared for Lincoln and the delegates to the convention were instructed to support him. Of the 516 convention votes destined to be cast at Baltimore Lincoln had enough by April to assure his nomination on the first ballot. Yet there were still some elements within the party which would not concede his nomination. Disturbing news came to Edward Bates that the radicals in his state, Missouri, were lining up for General Frémont.⁴¹

The radical opposition to President Lincoln in Missouri, which had been partially silenced in December, 1863, by the removal of Schofield, reappeared in 1864. The Germans in Missouri continued to be unreconciled with the President. They were keenly aware of their strength and suspected that they could play an important role in the coming presidential election. "The Germans," boasted their journal, *Neue Zeit*, "will hold the balance of power in the radical party." The editor claimed that Lincoln should be rejected and said "the present time is the time to elevate a new standard."⁴²

This radical opposition to Lincoln was manifested shortly after the removal of Schofield. The Blairs were working among their friends in Missouri to procure a declaration in favor of Lincoln's re-election, but word arrived that when a meeting was held for the purpose of presenting his name "considerable opposition was manifested by some of our truest and best men."⁴³

While many state legislatures and party conventions were declaring for Lincoln early in 1864 an effort was made to present a similar resolution in the Missouri House of Representatives. This resolution was ably championed by a group of men from the post office who "claim[ed] to be authorized to trade generally on Mr. Lincoln's name." Their effort went for naught, however, for the resolution was voted down on February 20 by a vote of forty-five to thirty-seven. "Thus has the programme for the nomination of Mr. Lincoln by the forcing

⁴¹Howard K. Beale (ed.), *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Washington, Gov't. Printing Office, 1933), p. 349. Entry of March 19, 1864.

⁴²St. Louis *Neue Zeit* quoted in *National Intelligencer*, July 25, 1863.

⁴³R. J. Howard to M. Blair, December 28, 1863, *Blair MSS*, (Library of Congress).

and forestalling process agreed upon by the Blairs, Weeds, Simeon Draper & Co. broken down in Missouri," crowed the radical St. Louis *Democrat*.⁷

Early in 1864 a strong movement began to develop in Missouri in support of Frémont for the presidency. B. Gratz Brown, several radical congressmen, and two members of the Missouri legislature sponsored a meeting at Louisville, Kentucky, called the "Slave States Freedom Convention" on February 22-23, 1864. Although most of the delegates present had come solely to discuss methods of promoting anti-slavery agitation, the debates clearly demonstrated that the men from Missouri were thinking in terms of nominating Frémont.⁸

On May 18 a conservative Republican convention was held at St. Louis pursuant to a call issued by Frank Blair and Samuel T. Glover. The delegates chosen to attend the party's national convention at Baltimore were instructed to vote for Lincoln. On May 25 the radicals met at Jefferson City and by a vote of 341 to 91 they decided to send a delegation to Baltimore instructed to vote for Grant. Charles Drake was chosen as their leader. Thus two opposing groups of Missouri delegates presented themselves to the Baltimore convention, each hoping to be seated.

Partly as a result of the work of the Germans and ultra-radicals from Missouri who bolted the Jefferson City radical convention, May 25, a group of German radicals and New England anti-slavery men decided upon direct action. Realizing that Lincoln could not be denied the nomination at Baltimore, they decided to present Frémont as a candidate on a third party ticket. Early in May they had sent out a call for a convention to meet in Cleveland, Ohio. Most of the important radicals in Washington, editors, and party leaders stood aloof from the venture, and even B. Gratz Brown who worked so hard to present Frémont as a presidential candidate failed to attend the meeting though chosen to do so.

⁷St. Louis *Democrat*, quoted in *National Intelligencer*, February 25, 1864.

⁸E. Merton Coulter, *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1926), pp. 179-180.

As a consequence of three calls which were sent out to the radical men of the nation, approximately four hundred men packed into Chapin Hall, Cleveland, on May 31. "Sly politicians from New York, impetuous hair-brained Germans from St. Louis, abolitionists, and personal friends and parasites of Frémont," was how the *Cleveland Herald* described the personnel of the meeting.* Shortly after the meeting began, the delegates divided. One group wanted Frémont, and its chief strength came from Missouri. The second group was led by John Cochrane of New York, and its strength came primarily from that state. The latter contingent preferred Grant for the presidency.

The committee on organization recommended that the vote for the candidate should be taken by states on the basis of the numbers of electors from each. Such a vote would have undoubtedly given the decision to the Cochranites. Caspar Butz, militant German radical from Illinois, was on his feet at once denouncing such a move. It would be unfair, he argued, to permit a large state (such as New York) represented by only three or four men to cast more votes than a smaller state represented by a much greater number. He proposed that each delegate be given one vote. This recommendation was received with considerable applause and was sustained by Charles E. Moss, the leader of the Missouri delegates. "If you vote by men," shouted a Cochranite, "nothing will stop them from bringing in people from the street." His objection, however, was speedily overruled; the committee's recommendation was voted down.

The decision to vote by person assured the triumph of the western states, especially Missouri, which was prepared to present Frémont's name. All was not lost for the New Yorkers, however. They tried to prevent the inevitable by reading a letter from Lucius Robinson, comptroller of New York, in favor of Grant. When this failed to have any effect on the meeting, they moved to postpone the convention until a later date, but once again the Frémonters from Missouri overruled them. Frémont was then nominated after an eloquent letter

*June 2, 1864.

from the anti-slavery leader, Wendell Phillips, in his praise was read to the delegates.⁶⁰

As a sop to the New York clique, Cochrane was offered the vice-presidential nomination. At first he declined with "a virgin coyness, so novel and refreshing in a politician of his antecedents." Nevertheless, he reconsidered and accepted.⁶¹ The platform which was then adopted called for a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, a reconstruction policy to be formulated by Congress, a single term for the presidency, and the confiscation of the lands of rebels and their distribution among the soldiers and settlers. Frémont accepted the nomination but rejected the confiscation plank in the platform.

A week later the delegates to the National Union (regular Republican) convention assembled at Baltimore to nominate their candidate for the presidency. Before the convention opened it was necessary to decide whether the conservative or radical delegates from Missouri were to be admitted. The decision as to which contingent should be admitted was finally made by Lincoln himself.

President Lincoln's private secretary, John Nicolay, was present at the convention acting in the capacity of observer for the chief executive. He had an interview with several men at the convention and learned that the more radical of the two delegations from Missouri had indicated they would vote for Lincoln if admitted to the convention. He hastily communicated this information to John Hay, who presumably in turn passed it on to the President. Lincoln apparently gave instructions to the convention through Nicolay to admit the radical delegation. This action was not prompted by their assertion that they would vote for him if given seats, for Lincoln must have known that they would probably not keep their word. Had he desired to procure the twenty-two votes from Missouri he could have admitted the conservative delegates who were pledged to him. The President's motives were more subtle.

⁶⁰Edward McPherson, *A Political History of the United States of America during the Great Rebellion* (Washington, Phillip & Solomons, 1885), pp. 410-414.

⁶¹Detroit Tribune, June 2, 1864; Cleveland Leader, June 1, 2, 1864.

Lincoln wisely chose the delegation from his own state of Illinois to take the lead in the movement to admit the radicals from Missouri. The day before the convention met the Illinois delegates were assembled at Barnum's Hotel discussing several matters including the troublesome Missouri question. Most of them seemed to favor the admission of the conservative delegation. It was at this point that Lincoln's emissary intervened and presented the President's instructions to admit the radicals. Clark E. Carr, one of the Illinois delegates, left his impressions of the entire affair. He wrote in part:

Just as we were about to vote upon the question [of which delegation to admit] a young man arose in a corner of the room and modestly asked to be heard for a moment. He said that he . . . wanted "to give his own opinion, and not that of any one else," repeating that he only spoke for himself. Then he told us that, after all, under all the circumstance he thought that Illinois had better favor the admission of the delegates of the Radical convention of Missouri. That was all. There was perfect silence for a few moments after he closed. One delegate asked him to give a reason for taking such a position. This he said he could not do, but reiterated his statement as to how he thought we should act.

A number of our delegates knew the young gentleman when he first appeared. By this time, every delegate knew who he was. It was John G. Nicolay, President Lincoln's private secretary. Earnest as he was in the declaration that he was speaking only for himself, we soon realized that through his lips Abraham Lincoln was speaking to us.

We at once voted in favor of seating the Radicals. Other delegations followed, and they were seated.*

The admission of the Missouri radicals cost Lincoln the honor of being nominated by acclamation for they voted for Grant on the first ballot but later changed to Lincoln. The wisdom of admitting them, however, soon became apparent. Lincoln was trying to unite all the elements of his party in an effort to keep them from joining the third party already in the field. Had the radicals been denied admission to the Baltimore convention they might have claimed that it was a purely Lincoln convention and that the doors of the party were

*Clark E. Carr, "Why Lincoln Was Not Renominated by Acclamation," *The Century Magazine*, LXXIII (February, 1907), 505.

closed to them. By admitting them, the President gave them an opportunity to show their displeasure with him by casting their vote for Grant. Their action could have no effect on the outcome of the convention for their ballot could in no way alter the fact that Lincoln was bound to be renominated. Once having been admitted to the convention and having participated in its activities these radicals would be honor bound to abide by its final decisions, and they would have no justification for going over to the third party. Lincoln had no further trouble with this group of Missouri radicals before the election.

In the convention the leader of the Missouri delegation, John F. Hume, cast the twenty-two votes of his state for General Grant on the first ballot. The reaction to this move was instantaneous. "Such a storm of disapproval was never started in any convention that I ever attended," wrote one of the delegates in the Missouri contingent, "Delegates and lookers-on howled and howled. I can remember how I felt. I think my hair stood right up on end. After Hume announced the vote he sat down, and there we were, as solemn and determined as men could look, with the mob all around us demanding that the vote should be changed. I hadn't any doubt for a few moments but what we would be picked up, every man of us, and thrown out into the street."⁴⁴

A few days later the Missouri delegation stopped off in Washington and was introduced to Lincoln who in his characteristic way passed off the incident with some anecdotes. The Missouri radicals supported him from that time on. Lincoln also seemed to sense what they really wanted from him. Their conflict with him had much to do with the matter of patronage, and one of the delegates was later able to write, "After we went back home we never had any further occasion to complain about the control of the federal patronage in Missouri so long as Mr. Lincoln lived."⁴⁵

In the federal and state elections in the fall the radicals elected their gubernatorial candidate, Thomas C. Fletcher, all of

⁴⁴Walter B. Stevens, "Lincoln and Missouri," *The Missouri Historical Review*, X (January, 1916), 110-111. The delegate's name was Widdicombe.

⁴⁵*Ibid.* p. 112.

the congressmen except one, and also swept the state legislature. President Lincoln carried Missouri also, although he polled fewer votes than Fletcher.

Throughout the whole war Missouri's position was most unique. The radical Republicans, abolitionists, and Germans of the nation fought Lincoln over the questions of slavery, patronage, and reconstruction. When these radicals could gain no adequate redress from him, they sought to replace him in the presidency. Much of the lead in this movement came from Missouri. When it became evident that Lincoln's renomination could not be prevented, some of the malcontents followed the lead of the Missouri extremists and nominated Frémont at Cleveland. The other radicals supported Lincoln at the Baltimore convention. Only the Missouri delegation cast its vote against him momentarily. In the end, however, the Missouri radicals emerged from the convention fully satisfied. Lincoln no longer opposed them in the matter of federal patronage in Missouri, and the adoption of a radical platform by the party convention calling for a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery seemed a good augury that the administration was about to become more radical.

The Missouri radicals, who had fought so hard against Lincoln, then came to his support. The Frémont movement, which began so inauspiciously in May, died in September for want of support. The radicals in Missouri who had called it into being now transferred their loyalty back to Lincoln. The radical program triumphed in Missouri and the rest of the nation as well. The radical support of Lincoln in Missouri was quite complete. Lincoln polled only 1,924 votes less than Fletcher, the radical gubernatorial nominee, which indicates that once their quarrel with Lincoln was settled to their satisfaction the radicals of Missouri with the exception of slightly less than two thousand die-hards, gave Lincoln their unqualified support.

"THIS WEEK IN MISSOURI HISTORY"

BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER*

In this issue we continue the illustrated "This Week In Missouri History" articles, which were introduced to *Review* readers in April.

The Society's "This Week" series of historical sketches has been a popular feature in Missouri newspapers for more than twenty-six years. This year, the attractive illustrations added to each article have made them so unusually interesting that we are printing them in the *Review* for readers who may miss them in their local newspapers. Each issue contains the six articles released during the previous quarter.

The six articles presented here were written for the Society by Miss Jean Brand, research associate, under my editorship. She was also assigned the illustration project.

Appropriate pictures were discovered in widely varied sources and were often difficult to find. The drawing of bee hunters, for instance, had hung fire for weeks when a tip from Dr. J. Christian Bay, librarian emeritus of The John Crerar Library in Chicago, led to the discovery of the perfect picture in a yellowed *Century* magazine of the 1880's. The square-dance illustration came from a modern book, while the suffragette parade was located in a New York archive. The medicine-man's wagon probably originated in an old patent medicine advertisement, and was reproduced in a recent book.

A typical Missouri home town band picture was hard to find until I ran on to a treasured photograph of my own boyhood band at Bucklin. The lively horse race drawing came from a Platte County Fair premium list of 1903.

References accompany articles for those who may wish to read further.

*FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER since 1915 has been secretary and librarian of the Society as well as editor of the *Missouri Historical Review*.



**REVIVAL OF SQUARE DANCE RECALLS DANCES AND
PLAY-PARTIES OF CENTURY AGO**

Released April 5, 1951



Missourians Are Square Dancing Again. (From *THE COUNTRY DANCE BOOK* by Tolman and Page, A. S. Barnes & Co., © 1937)

"Swing your partner and let her go;
Balance all and do-se-do."

The calls that ring out across square dance floors all over the state today have changed little since Missourians first got together to the lively measures of "Arkansas Traveler" or "Fisher's Hornpipe." Many of the old tunes and calls have been dusted off for use in the recent revival of this favorite pioneer recreation.

A square dance held at a farmhouse in Callaway County in the 1840's,

as described by an old settler, seems typical of those in Missouri in the 19th century. At that dance, folks began to gather soon after evening chores were done, and by 8 o'clock every tree

and sapling in the vicinity had a horse tied to it. The parlor was full of women and girls gossiping and giving last minute touches to curls and ribbons, while young men dressed in new "blue jeans suits" and high heeled boots congregated in the yard. Many men wore spurs, which they took off before dancing.

Soon the fiddlers seated on a platform in one corner of the main room struck up on "Gray Eagle." "Partners all" was the signal, and sets were soon made up. Perspiring dancers executed the figures as the caller shouted above the music:

"Now right hand to your lady,
 Swing right and left about,
Now all hold your places steady—
 Fourth couple lead out!
Balance all and cut a caper,
 Swing your corners right . . ."

Far into the night hoop skirts and slippers flashed through the movements of the pioneer square dance.

But the stirring tunes of the dance were thought to be immoral by some early Missourians, and they regarded the fiddle as the Devil's own instrument. Recreation for the young people in those families took the form of the "play-party," which was believed to be altogether different.

The play-party games were actually dances without an orchestra, and some scoffers called them "Presbyterian dances." The players furnished their own music by singing rhythmic verses as they moved through the intricate figures. Spectators clapped hands and "stomped" feet to keep the time.

Play-party songs were often derived from centuries-old ballads brought by early settlers to America, and several of the "games" strongly resembled the Virginia Reel. Favorite songs included "Skip to My Lou," "Marching Down to Old Quebec," "Weevily Wheat," and "Girl I Left Behind Me."

In "Old Dan Tucker" the players chose partners and formed a big circle, holding hands. One boy called "Old Dan" stood alone in the center and tried to grab himself a partner as the other young people went through the figures and sang lustily:

"Ol' Dan Tucker is a fine ol' man,
 Washed his face in a fryin' pan,
 Combed his head with a wagon wheel,
 An' died with a toothache in his heel."

[References: *Fulton Gazette*, December 25, 1896; Hamilton, Goldie M., "The Play-party in Northeast Missouri," in *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 27, No. 105 (July-September, 1914), pp. 289-303; Randolph, Vance, "The Ozark Play-party," in *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 42 (July-September, 1929), pp. 201-232.]

PICTURESQUE MEDICINE SHOWS COMBINED ENTERTAINMENT WITH SALESMANSHIP

Released April 19, 1951

Medicine show! The sound of the words was enough to set the pulse of any small town Missouri boy to pounding. During the last century, the arrival of a tent show with its troupe of banjo pickers, black-face minstrels, or magic acts was a big event in village life.



**The Old Time Patent Medicine "Doctor" Came To Town
With A Wagonload Of Remedies And A Good Show.**

Itinerant vendors guaranteed their remedies to cure every disease under the sun. They traveled in groups varying in size from a couple of men to a band of artists whose skill

would have done credit to a vaudeville circuit. Some confined themselves to selling "Indian Remedy" or whatever their nostrum happened to be, but others claimed mystic, or even divine powers.

A typical medicine-man would hire a hall, or in good weather, a vacant lot, and proceed to give his show before demonstrating his remedy. Occasionally the audience took part. In such medicine-show songbooks of the nineties as *Hamlin's Wizard Oil* and *Morley's Wonderful Eight Songster*, were preserved some of the old folk songs of the Ozark hill country. These books were distributed at the shows for group singing.

The traveling quacks knew human nature thoroughly. They constantly alluded to the monopoly of the regular doctors who, they said, withheld secrets of medicine which could help the people.

Certified doctors were naturally offended at these innuendoes. A letter to the editor of the *Liberty Weekly Tribune* from a Clay County physician in 1854 condemned medical quacks of all sorts, and especially "The venders of 'Patent Medicines,'" the class "at the head of which stands the 'Indian Doctor,' in whom credulous females, children and ignorant, superstitious men, have great confidence."

Missouri tried to control the medicine showmen by means of license laws. The revised statutes of 1889 required "Any itinerant vendor of any drug, nostrum, ointment . . ." to pay a license fee of \$100 per month or be fined and sentenced to the county jail.

The "patent" in the medicines sold by the pitchmen falsely suggested government sanction, even approval. Although possessed of a keen sense of the ridiculous, some Missourians decided the cure-all was worth a try even if the claims did sound exaggerated.

In 1895 the *Neosho Times* complained of a party of patent medicine vendors who appeared on the streets every day "to humbug the people and we regret to say they find a few who are willing to be humbugged."

Medicine show "doctors" still peddle their wares in scattered Missouri towns, but modern audiences are more critical of both performance and remedy.

[References: Adams, Samuel H., *The Great American Fraud* (Chicago, 1912), p. 96; *Liberty Tribune*, November 10, 1854; *Neosho Times*, March 5, 1896, and December 12, 1895; Pickard, Madge E., and R. Carlyle Buley, *The Midwest Pioneer, His Ills, Cures, and Doctors* (Crawfordsville, Ind., 1945), pp. 271-272; *Revised Statutes of the State of Missouri, 1889* (Jefferson City, 1889), Vol. 2, pp. 1613-1614.]

MISSOURI WOMEN WON VOTE AFTER 52-YEAR FIGHT

Released May 3, 1951



Women Paraded In 1907 To Demand The Right To Vote.

"Soon the women will be voting,
We're sure to win the vote."

Earnest suffragettes sang lustily to bolster their morale at meetings where they planned new ways to force stubborn law-makers to give them the right to vote. It took real courage to face the hoots and jeers which they met at first, for woman suffrage was a deadly serious issue to the thousands of Missouri women who took part in the fifty-two-year struggle.

Before the Civil War women believed politicians who said their place was in the home, but after experience with public affairs through war relief societies, and with better education, the idea of voting appealed to them.

Missouri women began their campaign for suffrage with a petition to the legislature in 1867. Endorsed by 355

pioneers in the cause, the petition was the first of its kind in the state. It was flatly rejected by the House of Representatives, 89 to 5.

A handful of St. Louis women formed the first woman suffrage association in Missouri on May 8, 1867, and Susan B. Anthony and Julia Ward Howe visited the city with the National Suffrage Convention that year. Public opinion was skeptical, however, and a Jefferson City newspaper declared that having the vote would place woman "on the brink of a fall almost as terrible as that which occurred in the Garden of Eden."

At almost every session from 1867 to 1901 Missouri women took suffrage petitions to the state legislature, where chivalrous representatives greeted the delegates with courtesy, but firmly refused to give them the vote. When law reform seemed slow in coming, Mrs. Virginia L. Minor of St. Louis attempted to register to vote in the November election in 1872. Refused, she sued election officials in a test case which her lawyer husband carried to the U.S. Supreme Court, but that high tribunal decided against her.

The suffrage movement expanded rapidly over the state in the nineties. Pike, Clinton, Jackson, and St. Clair counties sent petitions to the legislature, and woman suffrage gained support from temperance societies and the Populist party.

Missouri organizations took on new life in 1910 when the great suffragette leader Emmelin Pankhurst made her first tour of America. From that time volunteer workers threw their energies wholeheartedly into the battle. Members busily appointed committees, signed petitions, and mailed pamphlets. They staged parades and made street corner speeches. One group bought tents and toured the county fairs to hand out literature. Springfield, Sedalia, Joplin, Carthage, and Columbia had active clubs in 1913. Leading newspapers gave support and public opinion was changing.

Missouri women organized a huge demonstration called the "Golden Lane" to urge a suffrage plank in the platform when the Democratic National Convention met in St. Louis in 1916. Holding yellow parasols and wearing white dresses

with yellow sashes, 3000 women stood silently in line along the street as the delegates passed. They got a suffrage plank, but it was vague and noncommittal.

After that it was only a matter of time and more agitation until the long fight was won. The U.S. Senate approved the 19th Amendment to the Federal Constitution June 4, 1919. Less than a month later, on July 2, the 50th Missouri General Assembly ratified it before an enthusiastic gallery of Missouri women who had helped to win a greater democracy for all.

[References: Morris, Monia Cook, "The History of Woman Suffrage in Missouri, 1867-1901," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (October, 1930), pp. 67-82; Scott, Mary Semple, editor, "History of Woman Suffrage in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3-4 (April-July, 1920), pp. 281-384; Stevens, W. B., *Centennial History of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1921), II, 507-510.]

HONEY BEES MEANT ILL OMEN TO INDIANS, PROFIT TO PIONEERS

Released May 17, 1951

The industrious little honey bee seemed a sinister harbinger of evil to Missouri Indians. They called it "the white man's fly" because it heralded the coming of American settlers to their hunting grounds. Imported from Europe, the honey bee spread westward at a rate so nearly corresponding to that of the Anglo-Americans that the belief arose that wherever the honey bee went the white man would soon follow.

In the wilderness the bee's cheery presence gave assurance of nearby civilization. Its honey was prized as a delicacy and eventually made a welcome variation in Indian as well as pioneer diet. Explorers said no honey bees were known west of the Mississippi earlier than 1797, but the French in Missouri settlements used honey to sweeten their coffee before that date.

Honey was especially abundant in Missouri and was one of the chief attractions to new settlers. They could barter it for calico and ammunition, and wild honey was an important commercial export in many communities. A traveler in 1820 said simply that Missouri Territory was "full of honey." Another stated that in the newly opened Platte Purchase "every

tree that had a hollow in it seemed to be a bee tree, and every hollow was full of rich golden honey. In the Boone's Lick country in 1820 as much as 200 gallons might be found in a day's hunting, and it sold for 10 to 37 cents a gallon. With honey so plentiful, pioneers were said to have used it for axle grease.



Bee Hunters Paused To Sample The Wild Honey After Chopping Down The Hollow Tree Containing The Hive.

Often only the wax was kept, while the honey was pressed out onto the ground for the bees to collect again. Beeswax cakes called "yellow boys" passed as currency among the settlers at about 25 cent a pound, but as with other forms of currency, there were counterfeits. A man who offered a beeswax cake with a tallow filling was boycotted by his neighbors if detected.

Hunting bee trees was a favorite pioneer sport combining profit with recreation. Missourians enthusiastically prepared elaborate expeditions to search for wild honey. A train of forty wagons with a half a dozen men each passed through old Franklin in September, 1821, to spend three to five weeks at

the headwaters of the Chariton and the Grand. That expedition returned with a net profit of \$3900. In those days so many parties went up along the Grand River with their wagons, buckets, and barrels that they made roads which were known as "bee trails."

The finder of the bee tree carved his initials into it, and to cut down a tree thus claimed was no better than theft. Even the Missouri-Iowa dispute, or so-called "Honey War" in 1839-40, was set off, according to a Palmyra poet, by the cutting down of bee trees in the disputed territory.

Until the early 1850's, families in the Ozark region had very little sweetening except honey, so that farmers kept domestic bees in hives called "bee gums." These were made of three-foot sections sawed out of a hollow tree, covered with sloping eaves, and with rods through the center on which the bees built the comb. At harvest time the roof was removed at night and the bees smoked out with a torch.

As the land became settled and the number of wild bee trees dwindled, Missourians developed bee keeping into a regular profitable business. By 1860, Missouri ranked fourth among the states with the production of about 1,500,000 pounds of honey.

[References: Bradbury, John, *Travels in the Interior of America*, in Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1904), Vol. 5, p. 58; Hanley, Kate, "Some Pioneer History," published in *The Breckenridge Bulletin* (Breckenridge, Mo., April 15, December 23, 1910), unpaged; "Hunting The Bee Tree," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (July, 1936), pp. 401-405; "Missouri History Not Found In Textbooks," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (July, 1944), p. 497.]

HOME TOWN BANDS POPULAR THROUGHOUT MISSOURI HISTORY

Released June 7, 1951

Nearly every community in Missouri at some time has sponsored its own home town band, which besides playing a leading role in Fourth of July and other celebrations presented free outdoor concerts through the summer months.

During concerts, which were popular social occasions, the murmur of gossip and horse trading and the shouts of

youngsters chasing one another around the bandstand were part of the background for the music. In spite of noise, heat, and the swarming insects attracted by the lights, the bandsmen labored valiantly at their jobs. Since they were usually volunteers, their chief reward was in the admiration of their fellow citizens.



The Bucklin Band Of 1898 Was Typical Of Many Such Groups Sponsored By Missouri Communities.

The town band had its beginnings very early in Missouri history. German music lovers who came to Missouri before the Civil War did much to increase the native interest in music and were leaders in organizing bands.

One of the pioneers was Wilhelm Robyn, a young German musician who arrived in St. Louis in 1837 to become teacher of music at St. Louis University. His first duty was to train the students to use a set of wind instruments which the Brothers had imported from Belgium. The students became known as the St. Louis Brass Band and played at the opening of the new Concert Hall in 1839. Robyn had to write and arrange all the music for his band himself.

The first large military band in St. Louis was organized in 1854, and became famous when it won first prize over forty other bands at a Knights Templar conclave in Baltimore. "Silver cornet" bands were becoming popular all over Missouri in the 1860's, and brass and military bands were favorites. Bands were called "brass," "military," or "silver cornet" according to the predominating instruments, although the terms were sometimes used interchangeably.

When General Frémont took command of St. Louis in 1861, a German musician named August Waldauer joined his staff and developed a military band which attracted huge crowds to concerts in front of headquarters.

Philip Johns, a German who arrived in Kansas City in 1868, is said to have organized the first band in that city.

The St. Joseph brass band provided a musical background for the first agricultural and mechanical fair held in the Platte Purchase area in September, 1854. At the start of the Spanish-American War in 1898 a band was recruited in St. Joseph and later passed in review before President and Mrs. McKinley. On their return home these bandsmen formed a permanent organization, with "Georgia Camp Meeting" and the cakewalk added to their repertoire.

Fashions in band programs have changed only slightly through the years. Home town band concerts still last about two hours, with encores, and consists of marches, waltzes, classical pieces, and the popular numbers of the day. John Philip Sousa's marches have been admired by Missourians since the last century. Popular numbers have changed from the ballads of the "gay nineties" through ragtime, jazz, and swing. In many Missouri communities today the functions of the old town band have been taken over by local high school bands.

[References: Conard, Howard L., editor, *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri* (New York, 1901), IV, 517-520; Krohn, Ernst C., *A Century of Missouri Music* (St. Louis, 1924), pp. 7-8; *St. Joseph News-Press*, Feb. 27, 1938; Scharf, J. Thomas, *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), II, 1628; Shoemaker, Floyd C., *Missouri and Missourians Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements* (Chicago, 1943), I, 1011, and II, 991.]

**"THE SPORT OF KINGS" AN EARLY
MISSOURI DIVERSION**

Released June 21, 1951

Missouri frontiersmen loved horse racing and backed favorite steeds with extravagant bets. Matching one spotted Indian pony against another in thundering races across the open prairie was a sport that grew naturally out of frontier conditions. And no red-blooded pioneer thought he could back his belief in a favorite without laying a bit of hard-earned cash on the barrel-head.



Thrills Were In Store At The County Fair When Missouri Thoroughbreds Raced Full Speed With Old Fashioned High Wheeled Sulkies.

As early as 1767 horses raced on a quarter-mile course on the prairie adjoining the St. Louis settlement, and young men among the early French settlers near Ste. Genevieve were extremely fond of racing. Where there was no ground to hold contests they went to work and leveled a track in the forest. Today in the hills behind the village of Racola in Washington County there is a long straight clearing which is still known as the "Race Track."

In the country and in the smaller towns any long vacant strip of road was used for impromptu pioneer horse races. In some towns the sporting fraternity became so numerous that ordinances had to be passed to keep them from racing in the streets.

Missouri racing enthusiasts gradually formed associations and adopted Eastern turf rules in place of the free and easy frontier regulations. The St. Louis Jockey Club, which passed in and out of existence several times after 1828, was one of the earliest of these groups.

After the Civil War, organized tracks with handsome prizes for the winners encouraged the sport. Racing circuits sprang up all over Missouri, some of the fly-by-night kind which lasted through a summer, and others permanently established. County fairs sponsored running and trotting contests.

Races of all kinds were held at the grounds of the St. Louis fair, organized in 1853, and it was there in 1885 that big-time racing really began in Missouri. The grandstand seated capacity crowds of 15,000.

St. Louis led, but had no monopoly on horse racing. St. Joseph turf fans promoted sulky racing in the 1880's, and Kansas City joined the Great Western Fair and Riding Circuit in 1878. A six-year-old horse there set an early two-mile record of 3.28. By 1891 at least thirty fairs in Missouri listed track competitions among their major attractions.

Liberal purses drew famous mounts to Missouri from the whole Mississippi Valley, and gamblers put up high stakes on races. In the 1890's this wagering became the basis for the operation of many small tracks throughout the state. These were called "jericos." The legislature, in an attempt to limit gambling, passed a law in 1897 limiting racing to ninety days a year for each track, and there was to be no betting except at the tracks where the races were run. The state auditor issued licenses for book-making, pool-selling, and registering bets.

Springfield, Mexico, Sedalia, Louisiana, and many smaller Missouri towns held harness races in the last decade of the century. Every year from the first week in July to the last week in August hardly a day passed when there was not a trotting meet somewhere in the state.

A Missourian named James Todhunter Sloan became famous and carried the fame of Missouri racing to England and the Continent by perfecting what became known as the "Sloan seat," with shortened stirrup, shortened rein, and body flattened on the horse's neck to cut down wind resistance.

The law of March 21, 1905, prohibiting book-making and pool-selling in the state, spelled the doom of horse racing in Missouri.

[References: Dickey, Lily Ann, "The Pastimes of Missourians Before 1900," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (January, 1943), pp. 138-140; Hyde, William, and Howard L. Conard, editors, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (New York, 1899), III, 1844-1845; Shoemaker, Floyd C., *Missouri and Missourians* (Chicago, 1943), I, 275, 1012, and II, 996.]

THE MISSOURI READER AMERICANS IN THE VALLEY

PART IV

EDITED BY RUBY MATSON ROBINS¹

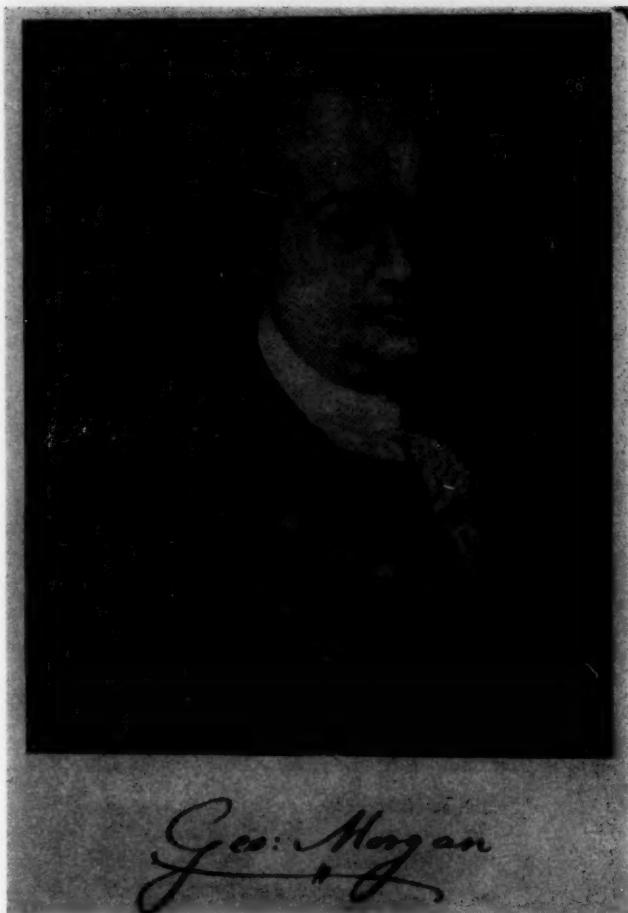
The Settlements, 1796 to 1820
(New Madrid District and County continued)
New Madrid Earthquake
Little Prairie
Pilgrim Island
Tywappity
Portageville
Winchester
Other Settlements in New Madrid Area
Wayne County Settlements

Two illustrations intended for use in "The Missouri Reader, Americans in the Valley," Part III, published in the April *Missouri Historical Review* are included with this issue. The illustrations are George Morgan and a handbill issued by him to advertise his colonizing venture at New Madrid.

These illustrations are used by Max Savelle in *George Morgan Colony Builder*, but since Dr. Savelle was unable to authorize the use of the pictures by the society, they had to be withheld from the last part of the "Reader," where they illustrated the section on the founding of New Madrid.

Since the last issue of the Review, the Society has been able to obtain permission to use these pictures. The picture of George Morgan is the property of the Washington (Pennsylvania) County Historical Society, and this print is used by the kind permission of Earle R. Forrest, president of the society. Washington, Pennsylvania is the location of the house "Morganza" (now torn down) which George Morgan inherited from his brother in 1789.

¹RUBY MATSON ROBINS, a native of Maryland, received her B. A. degree in 1937 and her M. A. degree in 1943, both from the University of Maryland. She taught for six years in the public high school of Silver Spring, Maryland. She is now employed as a research associate in the State Historical Society of Missouri.



—Courtesy of Washington County Historical Society, Washington, Pa.

George Morgan, Founder of New Madrid

SEVERAL Gentlemen, who propose to make Settlements in the Western Country, mean so reconnoitre and survey the same the ensuing Winter; All Farmers, Tradesmen, &c. of good Characters, who will to move in this Scheme, and to visit the Country under my Direction, shall be provided with Boats and Provisions for the Purpose, free of Expence, on signing an Agreement, which may be seen by applying to me at Prospect, near Princeton, on or before the 1st Day of October; or at Fort Pitt, by the 10th Day of November next. The Boats which will be employed on this Expedition, are proposed to be from 40 to 60 Feet long, to row with twenty Oars each, and to carry a Number of Swivels. Each Man to provide himself with a good Firelock, or Rifle, Ammunition, and one Blanket, or more if he pleases—Such as choose Tents, or other Conveniences, must provide them for themselves. Every Person who accompanies me in this Undertaking, shall be entitled to 320 Acres of Land, at one eighth of a Dollar per Acre. Those who first engage to have the Privilege of Surveys, which, however, each Person may make in full Part of the whole Town as he pleases, taking some, by his Choice of the best Land, and leaving each Surveyor either Seven or One Hundred, while the rest East, West, North and South, 510 Acres, or more, being first reserved for Town, which I propose to divide into Lots of One Acre each, and give five of them, in Fee, to such Merchants, Tradesmen, &c. as may apply on the Spot, and so of them to such Public Uses as the Inhabitants shall, from Time to Time, recommend; together with one Out Lot of 10 Acres to each of the first Six Families who shall build and settle in the Town.

All Persons who settle with me at New-Madrid, and their Posterity, will have the free Navigation of the Mississippi, and a Market at New-Orleans, free from Duties, for all the Produce of their Lands, where they may receive Payment in Mexican Dollars for their Flour, Tobacco, &c.

It is proposed, after fixing on the Spot, to clear and fence in 100 Acres, in a convenient Situation, to plant it with Corn—hire suitable Hands to tend it through the Summer; and in the next Fall, Winter and Spring, to distribute it to all New Settlers at one eighth of a Dollar per Bushel, that they may have Dependence so far as this will go; and as Buffaloes and other Game are very plenty in the Neighbourhood, there can be no Want of Provisions. Contractors being ready to engage to deliver fresh Beef and Venison throughout the Year, at One Penny per Pound.

Credit will be given to those who desire it, as well for the Land as for Provisions, and Payment received in future Produce. All Persons will be assisted in building a House, clearing a Spot of Ground, and in getting in their first Crops. Horned cattle, Horses, and Sheep, will be delivered to the Settlers at New-Madrid in such Quantities as they stand in Need of at first, at very reasonable Rates, for Cattle and future Produce.

Those who settle at New-Madrid in this or the ensuing Year, shall have Plough-Irons, &c. Iron Works, and farming Utensils transported down the Ohio gratis, after their Clothing, Bedding, Kitchen Furniture, and certain other Articles which may not be too bulky.

Schoolmasters will be engaged immediately for the Instruction of Youth—Ministers of the Gospel will meet with Encouragement; and Grants of Land made in Fee in each of every Denomination, who may agree with a Congregation before the Year 1790, beside particular Grants of Tracts of Land to each Society.

This new City is proposed to be built on a high bank of the Mississippi River, near the Mouth of the Ohio, in the richest and most healthful part of the Western Country, about the Latitude of 37°.

Those who wish for further Information, will be pleased to apply to me in Person as above-mentioned, or at the New-City of Madrid, after the 1st Day of next December, where Surveyors will attend to lay out the Lands.

GEORGE MORGAN

OCTOBER 3, 1788.

HANDBILL ISSUED BY GEORGE MORGAN TO ADVERTISE HIS
PROJECTED EXPEDITION TO NEW MADRID

—Courtesy of Mr. David McCord, Harvard University

The handbill illustration was located through the suggestion of Harry H. Hood of Washington, Pennsylvania, that the Society contact David McCord at Harvard University, heir of the late Mrs. A. G. Happer who in turn was an heir of the George Morgan estate. David McCord granted permission to use this interesting picture of the handbill advertising the glories of the New Madrid Colony.

NEW MADRID EARTHQUAKE

From December 16, 1811, through the year 1812, New Madrid was in the center of a series of earthquakes of great destructiveness and magnitude as is shown by the surface and structure of the earth of the area affected and as told in contemporary accounts. Myron L. Fuller, in a study on the earthquakes published by the United States Geological Survey says: ". . . these shocks have not been surpassed or even equaled* for number, continuance of disturbance, area affected, and severity by the . . . shocks at Charleston and San Francisco. As the region was almost unsettled at that time relatively little attention was paid to the phenomenon, the published accounts being few in number and incomplete in details. For these reasons, although scientific literature in this country and in Europe has given it a place among the great earthquakes of the world, the memory of it has lapsed from the public mind."¹¹

Fuller defines the extent of the earthquakes: "The area affected by the New Madrid earthquake may be subdivided into an area of marked earth disturbances, an area of slight earth disturbances, and an area of tremors only. In the first is included the territory characterized by pronounced earthquake phenomena, such as domes and sunk lands, fissures, sinks, sand blows, large landslides, etc. This district includes the New Madrid region, originally considered a relatively small area, including the villages of New Madrid and Little Prairie

*Other powerful earthquakes occurred in: Lisbon, 1755; San Francisco, 1906; Japan, 1923; and in the four-corners region of Asia where India, Tibet, China, and Burma meet, 1950. (See Donald J. Sorenson, "Recent Asian Earthquake Was One of Five Most Powerful in History," *Kansas City Times*, Oct., 12, 1950.

¹¹Myron L. Fuller, *The New Madrid Earthquake* (Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey), Bulletin 494 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 7.

(Caruthersville). It is now known, however, to be somewhat larger, extending from a point west of Cairo [Illinois] on the north to the latitude of Memphis [Tennessee] on the south, a distance of more than 100 miles, and from Crowley Ridge [Missouri] on the west to Chickasaw Bluffs [Tennessee] on the east, a distance of over 50 miles . . .

"In the area of slight earth disturbances will be included districts in which such minor features as the caving of banks, etc., took place . . . there is little doubt that such phenomena as caving were prominent northward nearly to Herculaneum, northeastward to a point beyond the Wabash, and southward at least to the mouth of the Arkansas . . .

"The area of tremors was naturally far more extensive. On the north they are reported to have been felt in 'Upper Canada,' on the northwest they are reported to have been felt by the Indians in the region . . . between the headwaters of the Arkansas and the Missouri . . . Southwestward the shocks were felt in the Red River settlements and on the Washita River, an equal distance from the center of disturbance. To the south the shock was felt at New Orleans, also 500 miles distant; to the northeast at Detroit, 600 miles away; and to the east at Washington, over 700 miles, and at Boston, 1,100 miles distant. A total area of over 1,000,000 square miles . . . was so disturbed that the vibrations could be felt without the aid of instruments."

A vivid and generally accurate account of the earthquakes at New Madrid, in the area "characterized by pronounced phenomena," is given by an inhabitant, Mrs. Eliza Bryan to the Reverend Lorenzo Dow, itinerant Methodist evangelist, in the form of a letter:

"On the 16th of December, 1811 . . . we were visited by a violent shock of an earthquake, accompanied by a very awful noise resembling loud but distant thunder . . . which was followed in a few minutes by the complete saturation of the atmosphere with sulphurious vapor, causing total darkness. The screams of the affrighted inhabitants running to and fro, not knowing where to go or what to do—the cries of the fowls

and beasts of every species—the cracking of trees falling, and the roaring of the Mississippi—the current of which was retrograde for a few minutes owing, as is supposed, to an eruption in its bed—formed a scene truly horrible . . . There were several shocks of a day, but lighter than those already mentioned, until the 23rd of January, 1812, when one occurred as violent as the severest of the former ones . . . From this time until the 4th of February the earth was in continual agitation visibly waving as a gentle sea. On that day there was another



The Great Earthquake at New Madrid

shock, nearly as hard as the preceding ones. Next day four such, and on the 7th, about 4 o'clock, A. M., a concussion took place so much more violent than those [others] . . . that it was denominated the hard shock.

"At first the Mississippi seemed to reced from its banks . . . its waters gathering up like a mountain . . . then rising fifteen or twenty feet perpendicularly, and expanding, as it were, at the same moment, the banks were overflowed . . . [with a

rapid] torrent . . . The river falling immediately as rapid as it had risen, receded within its banks again with such violence that it took with it whole groves of young cotton-wood trees . . . In all the hard shocks mentioned, the earth was horribly torn to pieces . . . The site of this town [New Madrid] was evidently settled down at least fifteen feet . . . We were . . . twelve or eighteen months after the first shocks in little light camps made of boards, but we gradually became callous, and returned to our houses . . . Most of those who fled . . . have since returned. We . . . still continue to feel slight shocks occasionally [March 22, 1816].”⁶

In the area of intense shock was produced such a geographic phenomenon as the formation of Reelfoot Lake in Tennessee. Reelfoot Lake, about 22 miles from New Madrid, is from eight to ten miles long and two to three miles wide. This lake, a result of sunken land, is described by W. J. McGee, in *A Fossil Earthquake*, 1892: “Here and there, particularly toward the western side, groves of sickly cypresses spring from its bottom and half shadow the water surface with puny branches and scant foliage, and here and there throughout all portions of the water body, save in the channels of the old bayous, gaunt cypress trunks with decaying branches stand, sometimes a dozen to the acre, numbering many thousands in all. Moreover, between the decaying boles, rising a score to a hundred feet above the water, there are ten times as many stumps, commonly of lesser trees, rising barely to low-water level.”⁷

The English botanist, John Bradbury, was on a flatboat two days out of New Madrid when the first shock occurred. He gives a description of a slight earth disturbance as compared with the violence that formed Reelfoot Lake: “. . . I was awakened by a most tremendous noise, accompanied by so violent an agitation of the boat that it appeared in danger of upsetting . . .

“By the time we [Bradbury and crew] could get to our fire, which was on a large flag, in the stern of the boat, the

⁶Lorenzo Dow, *History of Cosmopolite: or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow . . .* (Cincinnati, Robertson, 1850), pp. 344-346.

⁷Quoted by Fuller, *The New Madrid Earthquake*, p. 73.

shock had ceased; but immediately the perpendicular banks, both above and below us, began to fall into the river in such vast masses, as nearly to sink our boat by the swell they occasioned . . .”¹

A description of the effect of the earthquake in the “area of tremors” is given in “A Detailed Narrative of the Earthquakes which Occurred on the 16th Day of December, 1811,” by Samuel L. Mitchill, physician and U. S. Congressman from New York, 1804-1813: “Washington.—On the morning of Monday, the 16 December, 1811, several shocks of earthquakes were felt at the city of Washington. The first of these happened at 3 o’clock, and in some houses was considerable, enough to shake the doors and windows and wake persons from their sleep. There were successive tremors. Tassels of curtains were seen to move, and pitchers of washing stands were heard to rattle upon their basins . . . The alarm was so great in some families that searches were made from room to room to discover the robbers who were imagined to have broken into the houses.”²

Flint, the Presbyterian missionary, describes the village of New Madrid in 1819, about seven years after the first shock: “After the earthquake had moderated in violence, the country exhibited a melancholy aspect of chasms of sand covering the earth, of trees thrown down, or lying at an angle of forty-five degrees, or split in the middle. The earthquakes still recurred at short intervals, so that the people had no confidence to rebuild good houses, or chimnies of brick . . . When I resided there, this district, formerly so level, rich, and beautiful, had the most melancholy of all aspects of decay, the tokens of former cultivation and habitancy . . . were now mementos of desolation and desertion. Large and beautiful orchards, left uninclosed, houses uninhabited, deep chasms in the earth, obvious at frequent intervals,—such was the face of the country, although the people had for years become so accustomed to frequent and small shocks, which did no essential injury, that the lands were gradually rising again in value, and New Madrid

¹John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811 . . .* (London, Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1819), pp. 207-8.

²Quoted by Fuller, *The New Madrid Earthquake*, p. 29.

was slowly rebuilding, with frail buildings, adapted to the apprehensions of the people."¹⁰

Out of the earthquakes came the New Madrid land claims described in the "Missouri Reader, Ownership of the Land Under France, Spain, and the United States."¹¹ A description of the land situation at New Madrid by the Baptist missionary Peck will serve as a summary: "A delegate in Congress from the Territory of Missouri . . . obtained the passage of an act for the relief of the New Madrid sufferers from the earthquakes of 1811-1812. It turned out in the result, if there was any truth in hard-swearings before the courts, that there were five-fold more New Madrid claims than there were heads of families and single men in that district. There were honest claims, but the courts of justice in Missouri are not yet through with the fraudulent ones."¹²

LITTLE PRAIRIE

The settlement at Little Prairie, now Caruthersville, was begun by the French soon after the founding of New Madrid. Amos Stoddard, first governor of Upper Louisiana, describes Little Prairie as it was in 1803: "The settlement at Little Prairie, thirty miles below New Madrid, was formed by Canadian traders about the year 1795; and in 1803 it contained about one hundred and fifty souls."¹³

Thomas Ashe, English traveler, describes Little Prairie in 1806: "On leaving New Madrid, the first settlement I perceived was that of *Little Prairie*: it consists of from twenty to thirty houses, built on an elevated plain, whose extent is limited by a swampy boundary. It is a wretched sickly place, and would be evacuated, were the inhabitants not encouraged to remain by the trade with the Indians, which they find profit-

¹⁰Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years . . .* (Boston, Cummings, Hilliard, 1826), pp. 227-228.

¹¹*Missouri Historical Review* XLIV (April, 1950), 274-294.

¹²John Mason Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck, D. D.* Edited from his Journals and Correspondence by Rufus Babcock (Philadelphia, American Baptist Society, 1884), p. 147.

¹³Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana . . .* (Philadelphia, Carey, 1812), p. 209.

able, though attended by periodical, or rather perpetual attacks of sickness."¹³

Christian Schultz, German traveler, visited Little Prairie in 1808: "We found several of the Delaware, Shawanese, and Cherokee Indians at this place, who furnish the traders with small quantities of beaver-skins, and other furs. Several of them were at this time intoxicated and reeling about the banks of the river."¹⁴

A fuller description of the settlement as it was in 1808 is given by Fortescue Cuming, traveler and author: ". . . we landed in the skiff at the town of Little Prairie on the right, containing twenty-four low houses and cabins, scattered on a fine and pleasant plain inhabited chiefly by French creoles . . . We were informed that there were several Anglo-American farmers all round in a circle of ten miles.

"Everything is excessively dear here, as in New Madrid—butter a quarter of a dollar per pound, milk a half dollar per gallon, eggs a quarter of a dollar a dozen . . ."¹⁵

Little Prairie also suffered from the earthquakes and Flint writes: "The people at the Little Prairie, who suffered most, had their settlement,—which consisted of a hundred families, and which was located in a wide and very deep and fertile bottom,—broken up. When I passed it [1819], and stopped to contemplate the traces of the catastrophe which remained after seven years, the crevices where the earth had burst were sufficiently manifest, and the whole region was covered with sand to the depth of two or three feet. The surface was red with oxidized pyrites of iron, and the sand-blows, as they were called, were abundantly mixed with this kind of earth, and with pieces of pit-coal. But two families remained of the whole settlement."¹⁶

¹³Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America Performed in 1806 . . .* (London Newburyport [Mass.] Reprinted for Sawyer by Blunt, 1808), pp. 296-297.

¹⁴Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage . . .* (New York, Riley, 1810), II, 108.

¹⁵F. Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country . . .* (Pittsburgh, Cramer, Spear, Eichbaum, 1810), p. 257.

¹⁶Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, p. 225.

Thomas Nuttall, botanist and ornithologist, also describes Little Prairie in 1819: "In the evening we arrived at the remains of the settlement called the Little Prairie, where there is now only a single house, all the rest . . . having been swept away by the river, soon after the convulsion of the earthquake . . ."¹⁷

PILGRIM ISLAND

A strange group of people calling themselves Pilgrims came to New Madrid, and later settled for a time on an island near Little Prairie. These Pilgrims, about fifty in number, had originated in Canada and had wandered down through New York and on to the western country. "They were then [early in the 1800's] organized to a considerable degree, and has probably eight or ten thousand dollars in common stock. The prophet was their ruler, spiritual and temporal. He had visions by night, which were expounded in the morning, and determined whether they should stand still or go on . . . Arrived at New Madrid, they walked ashore in Indian file, the old men in front, then the women, and the children in the rear. They chanted a kind of tune, as they walked, the burden of which was 'Praise God! Praise God!'

"Their food was mush and milk, prepared in a trough, and they sucked it up, standing erect, through a perforated stalk of cane . . . They affected to be ragged, and to have different stripes in their dresses and caps, like those adopted in penitentiaries as badges of the character of the convicts. So formidable a band of ragged Pilgrims, marching in perfect order, chanting with a peculiar twang the short phrase 'Praise God! Praise God!' had in it something imposing to a people, like those of the West, strongly governed by feelings and impressions. Sensible people assure me that the coming of a band of these Pilgrims into their houses affected them with a thrill of alarm . . . At Pilgrim Island, thirty miles below [New Madrid], and opposite the Little Prairie, they staid a long time.

"Here dissensions began to spring up among them. Emaciated with hunger, and feverish from filth and the climate, many

¹⁷Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory . . .* (Philadelphia, Palmer, 1821), p. 47.

of them left their bones. They were ordered by the prophet, from some direct revelation which he received, to lie unburied ; and their bones were bleaching on the island when we were there. Some escaped from them at this place, and the sheriff of the county of New Madrid, indignant at the starvation imposed as a discipline upon the little children, carried to them a pirogue of provisions, keeping off with his sword the leaders, who would fain have prevented these greedy innocents from satiating their appetites.



"Pilgrims" Entering New Madrid

While on this island, a great number of boatmen are said to have joined, to take them at their profession of having no regard for the world . . . and robbed them of their money, differently stated to be between five and ten thousand dollars. From this place, reduced in number by desertion and death, in their descent to the mouth of the Arkansas, there were only [six left when I saw them in 1819] . . .¹⁸

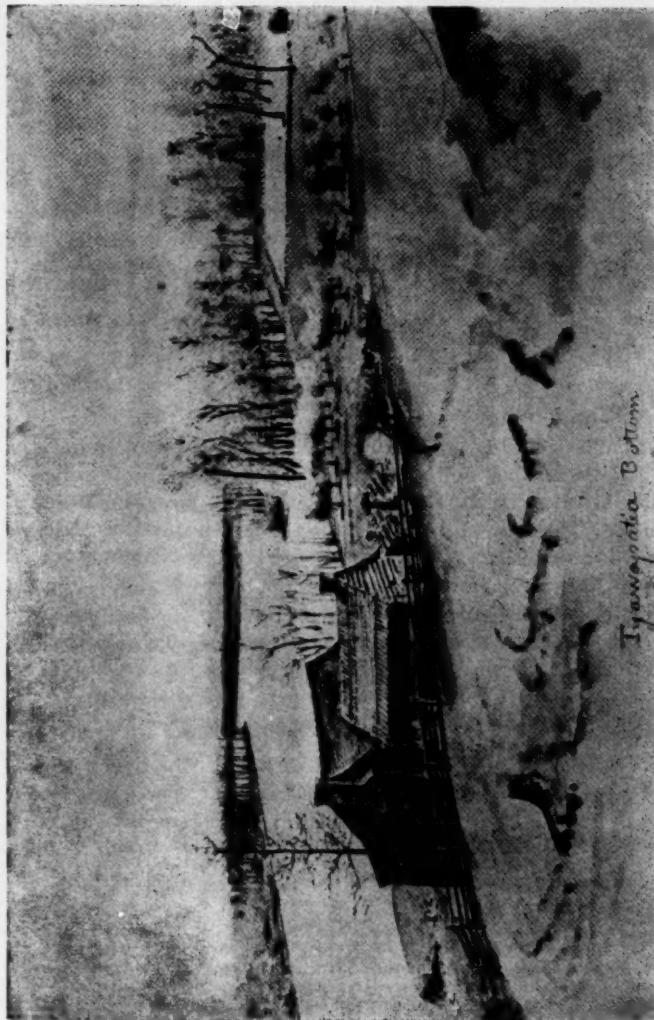
¹⁸Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, pp. 277-279.

Nuttall, on his way down the Mississippi to New Orleans in January, 1820, made a stop in the vicinity of the mouth of the Arkansas River near where the depleted band of pilgrims had had an encampment. He gives this account of them: "Not far from this place . . . were encamped, the miserable remnant of what are called the Pilgrims, a band of fanatics, originally about 60 in number. They commenced their pilgrimage from the borders of Canada, and wandered about with their wives and children through the vast wilderness of the western states . . . They looked up to accident and charity alone for support; imposed upon themselves rigid fasts, never washed their skin, or cut or combed their hair . . . Desertion, famine, and sickness, soon reduced their numbers, and they were every where treated with harshness and neglect, as the gypsies of civilized society. Passing through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, they at length found their way down the Mississippi to the outlet of White river and the Arkansa. Thus ever flying from society by whom they were despised, and by whom they had been punished as vagabonds, blinded by fanatic zeal, they lingered out their miserable lives in famine and wretchedness . . . Two days after my arrival in the territory, one of them was found dead in the road which leads from Mississippi to Arkansas. If I am correctly informed, there now exists of them only one man, three women, and two children. Two other children were taken from them in compassion for their miserable situation, and the man was but the other day seized by a boat's crew descending the river, and forcibly shaved, washed, and dressed."¹²⁴

TYWAPPITY

"The extensive bottom on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Ohio . . . is still known as Tywappity bottom . . . It was in this bottom of the river that Major Hamtramck, [then in command at Vincennes] wrote that in 1788 a village by the name of 'Ze-wa-pe-ta' was formed, thirty miles above the mouth of the Ohio, likely not far from the present town of Commerce, which he says . . . consisted of 30

¹²⁴Nuttall, *Journal of Travels*, pp. 226-227.



Tyawapatio Bottom

Tyawapatio Bottom or Commerce Town—1826

to 50 families, the settlers all being Americans and induced by the Spanish officials to come over the river by liberal land grants . . . On one of the lakes . . . Reazon Bowie of Georgia, and famous as the inventor of the bowie-knife,¹⁹ settled prior to 1800. He was appointed syndic of the Tywappity settlement."²⁰

PORTEAGEVILLE

"The most important settlement, south of New Madrid, was at the big Portage of the St. François, . . . near what is now Portageville in New Madrid County. At this point, from a very early period in the history of the country, a portage had been established between the waters of the St. François and the Mississippi."²¹

WINCHESTER

When the District of New Madrid was organized in 1805, "The commissioners appointed to locate the seat of justice accepted fifty acres of land donated by Stephen Moss and Moses Hurley, about one-fourth mile from the present town of Sikes-ton in Scott County. The tract was surveyed and laid out as a town by Joseph Story, county surveyor, and was called Winchester. Public sales of lots were held . . . The money realized from the sales was used for the building of a jail, which was also used for the meeting place of the courts. This jail was completed in 1817 and was in use until . . . 1821 . . . at which time the seat of justice was removed to New Madrid."²²

Houck writes, "Winchester, in 1812, was the county seat of New Madrid County. This old county seat as well as some of the others . . . are now cornfields."²³ Winchester was one of

¹⁹The invention of the bowie-knife is more generally accredited to James Bowie, brother of Reazon or Rezin.

²⁰Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri* (Chicago, Donnelley and Sons, 1908), II, 162-163. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

²¹*Ibid.*, II, 161. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

²²*Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri, a Compendium of History and Biography for Ready Reference*, edited by Howard L. Conard (New York, Southern History Company, 1901), IV, 558.

²³Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, 186. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

three post offices in the New Madrid area before 1820; New Madrid and another on the St. Francis River being the other two.

SCATTERED SETTLEMENTS

Brackenridge, lawyer, traveler, and writer, tells in 1811 of the expanding settlements in the New Madrid District: "The frontier, at least below the Missouri, may be said to have retired, sixty miles west of the Mississippi, and the settlements on the rivers are perfectly safe . . . Within the last two years, farms have been opened, from the Missouri to the Arkansas . . .

"Next to the banks of the navigable rivers, the public roads form the greatest inducement for making settlements. There are consequently establishments on nearly all the roads which traverse the territory; seldom at a greater distance than five or six miles from each other."²⁴

Shoemaker describes the settlements in the Big Prairie area: "Along Big Prairie, a ridge stretching from New Madrid as far as Scott County, American farmers had settled, attracted probably by the excellent drainage and by the desire to settle along the route of the King's Highway, which followed the ridge."²⁵

Flint says that the Big or Great Prairie settlements were in a "most flourishing" state before the earthquakes.²⁶

Houck writes of the settlements near the city of New Madrid: "The principal settlement near New Madrid was located on Lake St. Ann . . . Along bayou St. John, emptying its water into the Mississippi at New Madrid, there was another settlement, extending north and along this bayou."²⁷

Nuttall mentions a settlement at Point Pleasant where he stopped on his way down the river in 1819: "We proceeded

²⁴H. M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River, in 1811* (Pittsburgh, Cramer, Spear, Eichbaum, 1814), p. 113.

²⁵Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements* (Chicago, Lewis, 1943), I, 100.

²⁶Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, p. 227.

²⁷Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 154. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

about six miles [from New Madrid], and came to at another small French hamlet called Point Pleasant . . .

"This place and several islands below were greatly convulsed by the earthquake, and have in consequence been abandoned."²⁷

Houck tells of another settlement: "Between New Madrid and Little Prairie was the Ruddle settlement at Ruddle's Point, so named after Abram Ruddle, son of Isaac Ruddle, a family celebrated in the Indian wars of Kentucky."²⁸

In what is now Mississippi County there were settlements made in about 1800. These settlements were known as Bird's Point and Mathews' or St. Charles Prairie.²⁹

"Other settlements were made in what is now Pemiscot County, one in the vicinity of Gayoso, one north of Big Lake, another on Little River and a fourth on Portage Bay."³⁰

WAYNE COUNTY SETTLEMENTS

Wayne County, created out of Cape Girardeau and the short-lived Lawrence County, covered territory included in the original New Madrid County. Schoolcraft, government geologist, traveled through several sections of Wayne County, which was sometimes called the "State of Wayne" because of its size, and described the settlements he found there: "I here found myself in Wayne county, according to a late division of Lawrence . . . Agriculture forms the principal employment of the inhabitants along this stream [Black River] . . . A small proportion are mechanics, less merchants, and a very few professional men . . .

"Here is a village [on the St. Francis River], of ten or fifteen houses, including a grist mill: and a public ferry is kept by Dr. Bettis."³¹

²⁷Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels*, pp. 46-47.

²⁸Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, 181. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

²⁹*History of Southeast Missouri* (Chicago, Goodspeed, 1888), p. 303.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

³¹Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansaw, from Potosi or Mine à Burton, in Missouri Territory in a Southwest Direction toward the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1818 and 1819* (London, Richard Phillips, 1821), p. 86.

The village mentioned by Schoolcraft became Greenville. "Greenville, still the county town of Wayne, was laid out in 1820 by David Logan and Elijah Bettis [physician and merchant], at the ford across the St. Francois, known as 'Bettis' Ford.'"³³

John M. Peck, Baptist missionary, tells of the church and settlement at the place that became Greenville: ". . . the [Baptist] church that was then [1818] the farthest south of any one in the Missouri Territory . . . bore the name of St. Francois. Its location could not have been far from the site of Greenville, the county-seat of Wayne, which was established long after my visit . . . There were ten males and thirteen females members in the constitution."³⁴

³³Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, 186. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.) The Wappapello dam on the St. Francis River twenty miles southeast of Greenville was begun August 31, 1938, and finished June 23, 1941. The lake created by this dam would have inundated the town so the site of Greenville was moved 1½ miles north to U.S. Highway 67 and a new town was built there. See the *Greenville Sun*, December 26, 1940.

³⁴Peck, *Memoir of John Mason Peck*, p. 121.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY

Members sometimes ask me how they can take a more active part in the Society's work. One of the most interesting and valuable historical jobs, and one which can best be done by members in their home communities, is the unearthing of old photographs, drawings, and paintings of local scenes or historic buildings.

Once such pictures are brought to light, we can learn more about them, make a record, and perhaps obtain photographic copies of them for our files.

With each year that passes, more 19th century pictures are lost or destroyed because owners are not aware of their historic value. You can help rescue these treasures from oblivion.

Old photographs of local scenes and historical buildings will perhaps be easiest for the beginning searcher to find. Drawings and paintings of Missouri in the last century were few and now are rare. Early visiting professional artists often passed hurriedly through Missouri to the more glamorous Wild West with its Indians and buffaloes.

But the works produced by Missouri's pioneer amateur artists are not to be taken lightly. Among the Society's most prized paintings now are just such pictures by artists without formal training—paintings sometimes known as "primitive" or "folk" art—in which self-taught men and women made honest efforts to express what seemed interesting or significant to them.

The Society's valuable painting of the *Battle of Lexington*, for instance, was made on the spot by an amateur while the battle was in progress in 1861.

Our fine *View of Weston* by Augustus Beller is another "primitive" painting of a quality that should add impetus to a search for more of his work in the Platte County region.

Our oil painting of *Glasgow, Missouri* by Miss Cornelia A. Kuemmel is an example of historical art work by a painter who had some formal training.

Many pictures remain to be found. There is no picture or drawing known to exist of Missouri's first Jefferson City capitol, which was occupied in 1826 and burned in 1837. Yet who can say that some young lady on a Sunday afternoon might not have chosen that statehouse as a subject for her sketchbook, or that the drawing does not still lie hidden in a dust-covered trunk in some Missouri attic?

Perhaps a ragged itinerant drawing master made sketches of important buildings in Missouri communities to show to prospective customers as samples of his work. Early daguerreotypists and photographers portrayed historic sites.

No town is too small, no crossroads church or store too insignificant to have inspired a picture of historical value. You'll discover that the search for lost historical treasures can be one of the most fascinating of hobbies. Won't you write and let me know if you do find authentic pictures of 19th century Missouri?

DAVID M. WARREN ADDS FIVE MORE LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

David M. Warren, a native of Dade County, Missouri, editor of the *Panhandle (Texas) Herald*, and vice-chairman of the board of regents of the University of Texas, in May presented a gift of five life memberships in the State Historical Society of Missouri to five citizens of Missouri who likewise had a deep interest in the history of their state. Mr. Warren's gift was extended to Governor Forrest Smith of Jefferson City, Ray V. Denslow of Trenton, Clair V. Mann of Rolla, Lewis E. Meador of Springfield, and Henry C. Thompson of Bonne Terre.

Mr. Warren's recent gifts of five life memberships brings the total of his similar gifts to twenty-four. A subhead in the April, 1950, *Missouri Historical Review*, pp. 307-8, gave a short sketch of Mr. Warren's interest in the Society and told of the fourteen life memberships which he had given up to that time. In August, 1950, he added five more to this list and now

twenty-four persons, including himself and his wife, his children, relatives, and friends are benefiting from his lifelong devotion to the collection and preservation of local history and the dissemination of information about it.

ANDERSON HOUSE, LEXINGTON, BEING RESTORED

The historic Anderson home in Lexington is being restored by the Lafayette County Court for use as a museum. Built by Colonel W. O. Anderson in 1853, it was used during the Civil War as a hospital during and after the famous Battle of Lexington in September, 1861. Now the concrete floors are being poured in the basement of the home preparatory to turning it into a museum and gift shop where the relics of the 1860's, formerly on display on the second floor, will be shown.

In 1928 the county bought the eighty-acre tract, which was the site of the Battle of Lexington and the Anderson home, with the idea of preserving both as a historic shrine. Appropriate markers were erected at the entrance gates on 15th Street and in 1934 a replica of the old Masonic College, which served as Federal headquarters during the battle, and four memorial columns marking the battlefield itself were dedicated.

Among the historical items which have recently been received by the Chamber of Commerce for display when the museum is completed are a number of Lafayette Military Institute mementoes given by Colonel L. B. Wikoff of Wentworth Military Academy and a copy of the act to incorporate the institute from the *Laws of the State of Missouri*, 1860-1861, sent by the State Historical Society.

HISTORIC MARKER PROGRAM OF THE ST. LOUIS JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

On February 14 at the annual St. Louis Junior Chamber of Commerce City Founders' Day luncheon commemorating the 187th anniversary of the founding of the city of St. Louis, it was announced that the Historic Sites committee had been reactivated under the chairmanship of Edward A. Williams.

At that time one of the new 18 by 24 inch steel markers, made in the shape of a shield, was unveiled by J. Orville Spreen.

This program of marking historic sites in St. Louis had been under consideration since the presidency of Andy Mungennast in 1924 but it was not until 1932 that actual steps were taken to carry it out and 200 markers, some metal and some wood, were set up throughout the city. In the intervening years most of these markers have deteriorated to the point where they need to be replaced by sturdier ones and it is this task that the reactivated committee is attempting to carry out.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL NATIONAL FOLK FESTIVAL

The seventeenth annual National Folk Festival was presented in St. Louis for four days, April 4-7 at Kiel Auditorium, two performances being given each day. On the first day the thousand or so participants from twenty-five states paraded to the city hall where Mayor Joseph M. Darst gave them the keys to the city.

The program, as usual, was of as varied a nature as are the different sections and nationalities which go to make up our country. A Mormon chorus of seventy voices, the Fort Madison, Iowa, Catholic High School group which presented English country, morris, and sword dances, the Spanish-American folk dancers from Taos, New Mexico, the Cotton Blossom singers with their Negro spirituals from Mississippi, representatives from the Greater St. Louis Folk and Square Dance Federation and Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A. groups of Israeli dancers, and the Osage, Sauk, Fox, and Sioux Indians with their colorful songs and dances all contributed to a delightful program. A New Year's Eve pilgrimage similar to the old French custom and the traditional Shrove Tuesday "sausage hunters" dance staged by the "Wurstjaegers" of Rhineland, Missouri, were two numbers of unusual interest to Missourians. This festival presents, yearly, an unusual educational opportunity not only to the audience but to the participants as well. For the last five years it has been held in St. Louis under the direction of its founder, Sarah Gertrude Knott.

ANNIVERSARIES

Joseph Pulitzer, newspaper editor, was honored on April 10, on the 104th anniversary of his birth, by the unveiling of a bronze plaque to his memory in the foyer of the Columbia graduate school of journalism. The plaque was presented by the editor's son, Joseph Pulitzer, president and publisher of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri spoke, lauding Pulitzer's journalistic and civic contributions, his endowment of the journalism school, and his establishment of the Pulitzer prizes.

Westminster College and the Missouri School for the Deaf, both located in Fulton, Mo., will celebrate, on June 2, the 100th anniversary of their founding. One hundred years ago the cornerstones of the two schools were laid at ceremonies which included a parade from one site to the other. A similar parade is being planned for this celebration which is to include a covered wagon, a surrey, and a replica of the Missouri Pacific "Eagle" train, since the Missouri Pacific is also celebrating its centennial this year. Alben W. Barkley is to be the speaker on the occasion. On Monday, April 9, 500 letters bearing special centennial cancellations commemorating the Westminster anniversary were sent out from Fulton. Other similar stamps will be used until July 1.

The centennial of the Missouri School for the Blind in St. Louis will be observed this year. Sponsored by about twenty St. Louisans, the school was incorporated February 27, 1851, as a private philanthropic institution but in 1855 it became a state eleemosynary institution and in 1909 was designated as an educational institution. Opening with three pupils, the school had as its first superintendent Eli William Whelan, himself blind, who had landed by boat in St. Louis in 1850.

The year 1951 marks the centennial of the death, on January 27, 1851, of the noted artist and ornithologist, John James Audubon. During the course of his eventful life his path crossed Missouri several times. The first time was early in 1811

when he and his partner, Ferdinand Rozier, came to Ste. Genevieve to open a store. The partnership was dissolved at that time and Audubon went back to Kentucky. He returned for a short time in the autumn of the same year and again in the winter of 1812. A number of years later, on March 28, 1843, Audubon and some companions arrived at St. Louis at the beginning of an eight months sketching and hunting trip up the Missouri River. On April 25 they left St. Louis on the steamer *Magnet* and returned to that city October 19 of the same year.

On April 3, St. Joseph observed the ninety-first anniversary of the founding of the Pony Express in 1860. On that day Mayor Stanley Dale, at the city hall, gave Roy Dye a letter to the mayor of Sacramento, California, the western terminus of the old Pony Express route. Dye, who was on horseback, rode to the airport and put the letter on a plane for California, thus combining the old and the new methods of transportation in the commemorative event.

NOTES

On May 15, 1947, both branches of the Sixty-fourth General Assembly of the state of Missouri adopted Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 6 which approved the principle of a world federation. On January 29, 1951, by vote of both houses, Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2 was passed rescinding the former resolution as "contrary to the will of the people of the state."

Mrs. Walton Smith of Fayette recently loaned the State Historical Society of Missouri a copy which she had had made of the list entitled "Members of 1st Regiment, Missouri Infantry Volunteers, Confederate Forces Who Participated in the Battle of Shiloh, Tenn., April 6-7, 1862. From Records of the Adjutant General's Office, State of Missouri." The Society had a copy of this valuable list made for its files.

At a tea given by the Joan of Arc class of the First Methodist Church in Hannibal, April 12, three historical paintings,

by Mrs. Walter Griffen of Hannibal, were presented to Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, with the provision that they be kept by the artist until she had made copies of them. On display at the same time were over sixty of Mrs. Griffen's paintings and a number of her handmade quilts.

One of the paintings given the Society is of the Old Bay Mill, a water mill near Hannibal which has long since been torn down; another is of Mark Twain's home before it was restored; and the third is of Huck Finn's home before any part of it was torn down. These paintings will be a fine addition to the Society's collection of Missouri historical art.

The first Highway Post Office service in Missouri was inaugurated on April 18, 1950, when a bus, especially designed for the purpose, made the 166-mile trip from Kansas City to Carthage, stopping for brief ceremonies at the sixteen towns to be served en route. This new type of postal service was made necessary when the Missouri Pacific Railroad withdrew several of its trains from this area on October 31, 1948.

Lee C. Smith, of Kansas City, Missouri, superintendent of district 7 of the Postal Transportation Service, has sent the Society a file of historical material on the subject which includes descriptions of the towns served, specifications for the bus used, and pictures and clippings from many of the local newspapers along the route.

Approximately 500 persons attended the recognition dinner given in Independence, April 10, for William Southern, Jr. and Frank W. Rucker, retiring editors of the *Independence Examiner*. Homer M. Clements was master of ceremonies and Roy A. Roberts, editor of the *Kansas City Star*, was the principal speaker of the evening. Two silver "achievement cups" were presented to Mr. and Mrs. Southern and Mr. and Mrs. Rucker in "appreciation and gratitude" for their ninety years of combined services to the community.

Mrs. Rupert L. Rinehart of Kirksville was named "Missouri Mother of the Year," on April 14, by the Missouri

Mothers' committee of the Golden Rule Foundation. The mother of five sons and two daughters, she was also active in civic and club affairs, having been a charter member of the P.T.A. in Kirksville, Worthy Matron of the Eastern Star, and High Priestess of the White Shrine.

A portrait of the late Edwin W. Stephens, prominent Baptist layman, educational leader, and business man, was presented by Hugh Stephens, his son, to the state executive board of the Baptist church at a meeting in Jefferson City the middle of April. The portrait is to be hung in the Baptist state headquarters building in Jefferson City. It was accepted by T. W. Medearis, superintendent of the Missouri Baptist association. Edwin W. Stephens was chairman of the committee of the Missouri Press Association which, in 1898, prepared plans for the establishment of the State Historical Society of Missouri and he was the Society's first president, 1898-1903.

Philip J. Hickey, superintendent of instruction of the St. Louis public schools, was honored at a dinner in St. Louis on April 2, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews when he was presented with a national citation for "outstanding leadership as superintendent of instruction of the St. Louis public schools and for the active role he has played in the field of human relations."

Russell L. Dearmont, co-chairman of the St. Louis branch of the conference, presided at the meeting and Dr. Everett Clinchy of New York, president of the conference, and Dr. Martin P. Chworowsky of Teachers College at Columbia University presented the award.

The Missouri Historical Society met at the Jefferson Memorial on February 23 to hear Mrs. Adele Chomeau Starbird speak on "Stories My Father Told Me." The society held its eighty-fifth annual dinner at the Hotel Chase April 24th honoring the Missouri Pacific Railroad on its centennial this year.

An evening of "music from old St. Louis" was arranged for the Missouri Historical Society by Ernst C. Krohn, St. Louis musicologist, on March 30 when the group met in the Jefferson Memorial. The program opened with French folk songs from original manuscripts in the archives of the society, then excerpts from *The Missouri Harmony* were given, and last a number of compositions by St. Louis musicians.

The spring issue of *Rayburn's Ozark Guide* contains a number of short articles of interest to Missourians. One describes a vacation at Noel, Missouri, another a tour of the "Shepherd of the Hills Country," and a third gives the story of William T. Raines, ace Ozark fiddler.

Roy James Rinehart, dean of the University of Kansas City School of Dentistry, and his efforts toward assuring a dental school for Kansas City after his three years there at Western Dental College, 1899-1902, are described in the February issue of *The Explorer*, the annual publication of the University of Kansas City School of Dentistry.

Lincoln Kilby, the Vandalia, Missouri, postman who spent fifty-five days this year touring England on a fund of \$1308 raised by fellow citizens of Vandalia, gave a report of his trip to an audience of 400 in the First Christian Church in that city on April 4. Kilby was sent to find out what "the man in the street" thought of socialism, what his standard of living was under that form of government, and any other information of value on the people he met. His conclusions were that capitalism is far superior to socialism and that among those he questioned few were in favor of the nationalization of industry although many liked the social welfare part of the program. The report was printed by the Vandalia State Bank.

Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri spoke before a luncheon meeting of the Kiwanis club of Moberly on April 11. In his talk he told how the state of Missouri got its name and what the name meant.

A three-day auction of 3,000 of Mark Twain's own books, manuscripts, pictures, and letters was held April 10-13 on the lawn of the Hollywood home of Clara Clemens Samossoud, the author's only surviving child. Over \$40,000 was realized on the sale which was attended by more than 800 devotees of the famous humorist and professional collectors. The top price of \$325 was brought by the author's own copy of *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*. A number of volumes went to representatives of the Mark Twain Foundation at Perry, Mo. In addition, L. D. Norris of Perry, a member of the foundation, bought a painting of Clemens for \$90 and, for another member, Editor Burney Fishback of the *Perry Weekly Enterprise*, a desk which belonged to Clemens for \$200. The Mark Twain Foundation plans to build a museum at Florida, Mo., Twain's birthplace.

An assumed trial, "Sawyer *et al. v.* Administrator of Injun Joe," annotated by Elmer M. Million, associate professor of law, New York University School of Law, appeared in the January issue of the *Missouri Law Review*. The report of the trial, intended primarily for students, purports to have taken place about 1841 and to have been an appeal from a lower court judgment awarding \$12,000 in gold coins, found by Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn in the "haunted house" on Cardiff Hill near Hannibal, to Tom and Huck. The public administrator sought to recover these coins as belonging to the estates of Injun Joe and a "ragged man." This hypothetical case is based, of course, on Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.

Henry C. Thompson of Bonne Terre is the author of a series of eight articles entitled "Lead Mining in Jefferson County" which have appeared in the *DeSoto Jefferson Republic* from January 11 through March 1. The articles begin with Moses Austin and the year 1800 and continue with descriptions of early primitive methods used in mining and the various diggings in Jefferson County.

Robert L. Ramsey, a member of the English department at the University of Missouri, is the author of a series of articles

in the DeSoto *Jefferson Republic* entitled "Some Secrets of the Place Names of Jefferson County." Beginning March 29 the series gives interesting information on the names of cities, communities, townships, and streams in the county.

A Kimmswick landmark, the old Captain Waters home on the bank of the Mississippi, is in the process of being torn down by its present owners, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Anheuser. An article by Mary Joan Boyer in the Festus *Daily News-Democrat* of February 22 describes the old house which was built by slave labor in 1840-1841.

The March 1 issue of the *Hamilton Advocate-Hamiltonian* is largely given over to information on the city's schools as a consequence of the approaching dedication of the new Penney High School on Sunday, March 4. A very fine, comprehensive article, by Miss Bertha Booth, entitled "History of Hamilton Schools" goes back to 1857 to recall the sites where the schools have stood, the great teachers of the period, and the history of the schools in the rural districts which are now a part of Hamilton District R-2.

"Jedediah Smith's Bold Expeditions in the West Ended in Indian Ambush at 33" is the title of an article by Louis O. Honig in the *Kansas City Star* of Feb. 15. The first American to reach California overland, Smith was friendly with the Indians and aroused the Nez Perces' interest in Christianity.

Chester A. Bradley, in an article in the *Kansas City Star* of February 17, tells of the unique career of Gen. James Shields who was U.S. senator from the three states of Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri; the only Union general to defeat Stonewall Jackson; and the man who challenged Abraham Lincoln to a duel. A Federal monument to his memory is in the cemetery at Carrollton, Mo. and a State monument, a life-size bronze statue on a high red-granite base, is on the east side of the courthouse lawn.

William Southern, Jr. and Independence grew up together, according to an article by John Alexander in the

Kansas City Star of February 18. A fine picture of the veteran editor who has now retired is included in this story of the man and the town.

The late August R. Meyer, a leader in the development of the Kansas City park system, is memorialized by Meyer Boulevard, the Circle fountain, and by an unofficial monument—a 200-foot smokestack of the old Argentine silver smelter from which Meyer built his fortune. An article by John DeMott in the *Kansas City Times* of February 23 gives the history of the old landmark.

Although Mark Twain did not find the quick riches he expected in the West, he did begin his active writing career there and had many experiences which he was able to use in his later works. An article by Everett Rich in the *Kansas City Star* of February 24 describes how he started his writing career of necessity when he ran out of money in Nevada.

Clarence L. Barnhart, who was born near Plattsburg, is the compiler of the new *Thorndike-Barnhart Comprehensive Desk Dictionary* which has just come off the press. Designed for "middle class Americans," the book's 80,147 entries and 700 illustrations are rational simplifications of more expensive "unabridged" editions. An article by Webster Schott in the *Kansas City Star* of March 1 describes the compiler and his work.

An article by Jack Williams in the *Kansas City Times* of March 3 gives the information that Senator James W. Fulbright of Arkansas, the head man in the RFC investigation, was born at Sumner, Missouri. His career as a Rhodes scholar, president of the University of Arkansas, U.S. representative, and later senator, is interestingly told.

Major General William M. Hoge, born in Boonville and reared in Lexington, has joined the top command in Korea as head of the 9th army corps. This latest command is in line with his unusual background of service which includes being in charge of the building of the highway to Alaska in 1942, bridging the Meuse River in World War I, and the capture of the Remagen bridgehead in World War II. An article by John J. Doohan in the *Kansas City Times* of March 16 gives a thumbnail sketch of his spectacular career.

"The Brick-making Randalls" and the part they played in the building of Independence are the subjects of a feature article by Susan C. Chiles in the *Kansas City Star* of March 17. The 31-room Vaile home was built of Randall brick as well as many other buildings of consequence in that city.

Grant Rector of St. Clair County, a "rugged Ozark resident at 83," is the subject of an article by Albert H. Hindman in the *Kansas City Times* of March 26. Rector has many stories to tell of early county history.

The diary of a young man from Washington, D.C., Theodore Talbot, who accompanied Lieutenant John C. Frémont's second expedition to the West, is described and excerpts from it given in an article by Henry C. Haskell, Jr. in the *Kansas City Times* of March 30, 1951.

An article by Dwight Pennington in the *Kansas City Star* of April 22 describes the finding of parts of tusks and teeth of mastodons in a peat bog near Vienna, Missouri, recently. This find by John Streumph gives further evidence to earlier discoveries that Missouri was once, in prehistoric times, the home of herds of elephant-like animals.

Joseph Robidoux is the subject of an article by Bartlett Boder in the March issue of the *St. Joseph Moila Temple Bulletin*. In it, his and his brothers' far flung business interests, the big fortune which he acquired, and his generous use of it are ably described.

The St. Joseph museum was the recipient in 1950 of some material on Jesse James and other midwestern bandits which the Pinkerton Detective Agency had gathered together in observance of its 100th anniversary that year, according to an article in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of December 17. Two large frames were sent the museum containing photographs and printed material of that period of banditry.

"After Fifty Years, Memories of St. Joseph's Tragic Noyes-Norman Fire Are Still Alive" is the title of an article by Ada Lyon in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of March 18. In

it the author describes the fire and investigation which later took place to try to determine whose fault the awful disaster was.

The *St. Joseph News-Press* of April 8 carried the story of Addison Clark, engineer on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, who, on April 3, 1860, made the record breaking run of 206 miles from Hannibal to St. Joseph in four and one-half hours, carrying the mail for the first trip of the Pony Express. He had orders to let his wood-burning locomotive, "Missouri," "run wild Hannibal to St. Joseph, regardless of all trains" and run wild it did, going seventy miles an hour over a roadbed no engineer would travel today.

Jack Blanton, editor of the Paris *Monroe County Appeal* for more years than many of us are old, has been writing a column each Monday and Thursday since February 20, 1950, for the Feature Section of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. Entitled "When I Was a Boy," the column describes old customs in such a witty and interesting way that one-room rural schools, the activities of the family around the fireplace on winter evenings, or even bucket-brigade fires sound like real sport. Several recent articles are of unusual interest in a historical sense: the story of the fight for the school of journalism at the University of Missouri and the description of the many boys from Paris, Missouri, who have achieved success in the world.

An illustrated article by Herb Waeckerle in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat Tempo Magazine* of May 13 gives a summary of the work of the St. Louis Junior Chamber of Commerce Historic Sites committee in replacing with new markers the 200 old plaques formerly erected at historic sites throughout the city.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Through the Years. Missouri P.E.O. 1886-1950. By Maude K. Henderson. (Kansas City: Missouri State Chapter P.E.O., 1951. 342 pp.) Since the organization of the first

Missouri chapter of P.E.O. at Unionville in 1886 the sisterhood has grown rapidly until in 1950 Missouri numbered 228 chapters with nearly 8,000 members. This first published history of a state chapter is lovingly written by one of its past presidents with regard for the personal details that go to make a history interesting. She has, at the same time, compiled an exact record of all local chapters in Missouri, biographies of the past state presidents, descriptions of the state conventions since 1894 when the state chapter was organized, and an excellent chapter on the large part Missouri has played in the educational projects of P.E.O. such as the loan fund and Cottey Junior College, a P.E.O. institution.

The Story of Wentworth. By Raymond W. Settle. (Kansas City: Wentworth Military Academy, 1950. 198 pp.) Opening as "Hobson's Select School for Boys" in 1879, it became Wentworth Male Academy the next year, having been named for William Wentworth, the deceased son of Stephen G. Wentworth of Lexington who until his death in 1897 contributed largely of both time and money to the institution. In 1882 it became Wentworth Military Academy and in 1923 a junior college department was added. Raymond Settle has told the story well, bringing in human incidents which give it life while at the same time giving an accurate picture of the school based on documentary source material such as old Lexington newspapers, minutes of the board of trustees, reminiscences of faculty members, and academy scrapbooks. A handsome binding and good index add to its value.

Henry Wise Wood of Alberta. By William Kirby Rolph. (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1950. 235 pp.) This Missouri cattle breeder and farmer, born in Ralls County in 1861, went to Alberta, Canada, in 1905 to establish his fortune and stayed to become the spokesman of the agrarian movement in that section and the advocate of farmer solidarity and cooperation as a means of controlling provincial affairs. As president of the United Farmers of Alberta, 1915-1930, he became the most influential man in the province and under his leadership Alberta was the first province to establish a Wheat Pool organi-

zation. In 1935 he was honored by King George V with the Cross of St. Michael and St. George for his part in developing the spirit of cooperation among the farmers. Indexed.

The Literary Apprenticeship of Mark Twain with Selections from His Apprentice Writing. By Edgar Marquess Branch. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1950. 325 pp.) For a better understanding of Mark Twain's mind and art the author discusses Twain's very early literary career from his days as printer's devil in Hannibal, 1848-1853, till the time fourteen years later when he sailed on the *Quaker City* for Europe on June 8, 1867. The method used is to describe Twain's early travels and to give representative selections from his writings with comments on each, for each period. In this way the author tries to show a "logic of development" from newspaper nonsense to the height of the novel *Huckleberry Finn*. The last section of the book is taken up with twenty selections from the apprentice writings.

Nook Farm: Mark Twain's Hartford Circle. By Kenneth R. Andrews. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950. 288 pp.) Nook Farm in Connecticut with its circle of literary friends such as the Beechers, Hookers, Stowes, and Warners, was the home of Mark Twain and his family between 1871 and 1891. Mark Twain was the key figure in the fellowship which this little community made its way of life and likewise, according to the author, he was also a casualty of the group's later demoralization. He then turned from the complexity of his adult life to the emotional serenity of his early days to write his greatest books. Interestingly written, it is a fine picture of a community and one period in Twain's life.

We Always Lie to Strangers. By Vance Randolph. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. 309 pp.) If you've never seen a snawfus with wings like sprays of dogwood blossoms, or a pig with legs shorter on one side from walking on the steep Ozark hills, or a blacksmith so strong he carries his anvil under his arm, you may not believe anything in this

book of "windies" collected by Vance Randolph from old-timers in the more isolated sections of the Ozarks. You'll have fun reading them though and they may give you some good ideas for a few "whoppers" of your own. Over exaggeration and understatement are alike vehicles for the hill-men's humor and taken in small doses they are vastly amusing.

An Annotated Checklist of Magazines Published in St. Louis before 1900. By Dorothy Garesche Holland. Washington University Library Series Number 2 (Washington University, St. Louis, 1951. 53 pp.). The author has compiled a very useful list of the files of 216 magazines which she has examined, 69 others which were published in this period but which she has not seen, and 4 titles which were advertised but whose actual appearance is doubtful. All of these, with the exception of the medical, dental, and law journals, have been analyzed and the places where all of them may be found indicated.

Virgin Land. By Henry Nash Smith. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950. 305 pp.). This is a thorough-going evaluation of the myths of the West of the 19th century as they influenced the literature and ideas of the rest of the United States. The author starts with the fabled "passage to India" and the ideas concerning it in the time of Thomas Jefferson. Next he discusses the "sons of Leatherstocking" such as Daniel Boone and Kit Carson and the different concepts which grew up concerning them. The last half of the book is called "The Garden of the World," a term which the author uses to describe the constantly growing agricultural society in the center of the North American continent which became one of the dominant symbols of 19th century society. This volume will be of especial value to students of American literature. Indexed.

The Forty-Eighters. Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848. Edited by A. E. Zucker. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. 379 pp.) This commemorative centenary volume gives an appraisal of the Germans who

left their homeland seeking liberty in the new world. It attempts to show as well how they were influenced by their new environment and how they in turn were able to influence it to some extent, most notably on the frontiers of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, and Iowa during the Civil War period and shortly thereafter. Eleven writers have contributed chapters on different phases of this subject and a valuable biographical dictionary of the Forty-eighters, by the editor, has been included.

Pigs from Cave to Corn Belt. By Charles W. Towne and Edward N. Wentworth. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. 305 pp.) Amusing as well as informative, this history of the hog from the days of mythology to the present, gives a picture of the unusual importance of the 3 billion dollar yearly swine industry. More than any other commodity, pork implemented the American Revolution, it moved west as often the only indispensable meat item of the early explorers and trappers, and up to 1850 formed a higher percentage of the American diet than any other item except wheat. The center of swine production in the United States moved west through Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois until in 1920 it centered in Bowling Green, Mo., in 1930 in Sigsbee (near Shelbyville), Mo., and in 1940 in Black (near Centerville), Mo. The book ends with a discussion of the latest pharmaceutical by-products of the pig. Indexed.

This Reckless Breed of Men. By Robert Glass Cleland. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. 361 pp.) The trappers and fur traders of the Southwest, who in their "few allotted years . . . affected the destiny of nations," are the subject of this well written and documented volume. In their dominion, which occupied approximately one-fourth of the United States, they knew "almost everything of importance about the geography of the West" and this knowledge opened up to settlement the great trans-Mississippi territory.

Desperate Men. By James D. Horan. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949. 296 pp.) Based on files of the Pinkerton

Detective Agency which have hitherto been sealed to the public, *Desperate Men* is divided into two parts: the first deals with the sixteen years between 1866 and 1882 when the James and Younger gangs, born of the Civil War, terrorized the Middle Border; the second describes the later and more powerful, though not so well-known, "Wild Bunch of Wyoming" which, born of a depression in the cattle country around 1886, rendezvoused at Hole in the Wall, a desolate valley in northern Wyoming. This book combats the idea of considering these bandits as "misjudged Robin Hoods," but while showing them up for the ruthless desperadoes that they were, the author acknowledges that "even in this explosive, atomic age, Jesse James still rides."

A Stretch on the River. By Richard Bissell. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1950. 242 pp.) This is a vivid, realistic story of deck hands on the barge "Inland Coal" whose lives and loves are bounded by the river towns from St. Louis to Red Wing, Minnesota. College educated Bill Joyce got steamboating in his blood and became a real river man at book's end.

The Southern Country Editor. By Thomas D. Clark. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1948. 365 pp.) For this study dating from 1860 to 1948 the author has examined 183 rural weeklies in the South. He tells of their advance from primitive equipment to up-to-date typesetting machines and the like and then takes up in turn local history, agriculture, politics, editorials, crime, the race problem, etc., showing in the process how these weeklies have recorded objectively and more accurately than any other source the life and thought of the South.

Ohio Newspapers . . . A Living Record. By Robert C. Wheeler. (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1950. 253 pp.) From the treasure trove of 46,000 volumes of Ohio newspapers and from newspapers from other sections of the country, Mr. Wheeler has used 126 reproductions of significant newspapers to reconstruct the history of the United States along with a history of the

press. Beginning with *Publick Occurrences*, published in Boston in 1690, and ending with the *Lancaster* (Ohio) *Eagle-Gazette* of January 10, 1946, these papers demonstrate their usefulness as a living record and their power as a tool in shaping this country's history. Such a sampling of useful information as these papers contain should do much toward stimulating research in newspapers throughout the country.

History of Newton County, Arkansas. By Walter F. Lackey. (Independence, Mo.: Zion Printing and Publishing Co., 1950. 432 pp.) The author, the twenty-third child of an early settler of Newton County, has used all the county records as well as the reminiscences of early settlers in compiling this thorough-going history. Each township is described in detail as to early settlers and each period in the county's history as to prominent men and social customs of the times. An index would have added considerably to the value of the book.

OBITUARIES

ROSEMARY BURROWES: Born in Sedalia, Mo., Oct. 3, 1891; died in Sedalia, Mo., Apr. 25, 1951. She had been on the staff of the *Sedalia Democrat* for thirty-five years and city editor for the last ten years. Her family has long been prominent in newspaper circles, her father having been news editor of the *Democrat* and three brothers being editors in St. Louis, St. Joseph, and Fort Worth, Texas.

CYRUS CRANE: Born in Suffield, Conn., Oct. 4, 1866; died in Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 5, 1951. A widely-known lawyer for more than sixty years in Kansas City, he was a graduate of the University of Kansas in 1887 and was admitted to the bar in 1890. He was an attorney in Missouri and Iowa for the Santa Fe Railroad and in Missouri and Kansas for the Kansas City Southern and had been president of the Missouri Bar, the Lawyers', and the Kansas City Bar associations. He was also chairman of the bar committee of the United States District Court for the Western District of Missouri.

ALEXANDER C. DONNAN: Born in St. Louis, Mo., 1860; died in Rolla, Mo., Mar. 29, 1951. An officer of the Rolla State Bank since 1897 and its president since 1913, he served one term as the representative of Phelps County in the General Assembly, 1909-1911. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JOHN HUTCHISON: Born in Granger Co., Tenn., Mar. 14, 1846; died in Stroud, Okla., Mar. 18, 1951. Coming to Missouri before the Civil War, he settled on a farm near Ava and spent most of the war on the Arkansas-Missouri border patrol. He returned to the farm after the war but spent most of his later days in Oklahoma. He is reported to be Missouri's last Civil War Union veteran.

JOSEPH IHM: Born in Sinsinawa Mound, Wis., Sept. 3, 1899; died in Humansville, Mo., Mar. 13, 1951. A farmer until 1932 when he moved to Lamar, he operated a filling station there until 1945 when he was elected county treasurer for a four-year term. In 1950 he was elected a representative in the General Assembly.

JESSE JAMES, JR.: Born in Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 31, 1875; died in Los Angeles, Calif., Mar. 26, 1951. An honor graduate of the Kansas City School of Law, he became a lawyer in Kansas City at the age of thirty-one. His book, *Jesse James, My Father*, was published in 1899. In 1926 he moved to the west coast as he was interested in a proposed production of a film on his father's life, "Under the Black Flag."

WILLIAM DEVER JOHNSON: Born near Houston, Tex., 1860(?); died in Kansas City, Mo., Apr. 13, 1951. A farmer, banker, and cattleman, he was a member of the board of trustees of William Jewell College from 1909 to 1925 and president of the board, 1925-1948. During this period he furthered the cause of education at this institution by gifts of more than one million dollars.

EDMOND McWILLIAMS: Born near Plattsburg, Mo., Nov. 3, 1864; died in Plattsburg, Mo., Mar. 23, 1951. He had been county clerk for eight years, mayor of Plattsburg for several terms, editor and publisher of the *Clinton County Democrat*, and at one time a member of the board of regents of Northwest Missouri State Teachers College at Maryville. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JO ZACH MILLER, II: Born in Belton, Tex., Apr. 16, 1863; died in Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 16, 1951. He terminated extensive private banking connections in Texas in 1910 and came to Kansas City where he was chairman and later governor of the Federal Reserve bank there from 1914 to 1922. He was a well-known figure in financial circles in the state and served as a financial adviser to many large business concerns after 1922. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JACOB L. MILLIGAN: Born in Richmond, Mo., Mar. 9, 1889; died in Kansas City, Mo., Mar. 9, 1951. A lawyer by profession, he attended the University of Missouri, 1910-1914, was a captain in World War I, and served as congressman, 1920-1921 and 1923-1935.

ED. H. MOORE: Born in Nodaway Co., Mo., Nov. 19, 1871; died in Tulsa, Okla., Sept. 2, 1950. A graduate of the Kansas City Law School in 1901 and a lawyer for a number of years, he was also a successful pioneer in the oil industry in Oklahoma, Kansas, and California. He took an active interest in civic and philanthropic affairs in Oklahoma and from 1943-1949 served as United States senator from that state.

LUTHER ELY SMITH: Born in Downers Grove, Ill., June 11, 1873; died in St. Louis, Mo., Apr. 2, 1951. An attorney and St. Louis civic leader, he was a graduate of Amherst, 1894, and of Washington University Law School, 1897. He received an LL.D. from Amherst in 1942. From 1916-1922 he was chairman of the City Plan Commission, from 1929-1938 of the Council of Civic Needs, and from 1939-1941 of the state

organization committee for the non-partisan court plan, for which position he won the St. Louis Award in 1941. He was the first president of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Association and continued as its president, with the exception of one year, from 1934 to 1949. He had been a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

FRANCIS L. STUFFLEBAM: Born in Barry Co., Mo., Nov. 4, 1874; died in Springfield, Mo., Apr. 7, 1951. After studying at Central Missouri State Teachers College, he became a teacher until 1904 when he bought the *Bolivar Herald* which he edited until the time of his death. In 1926 he was president of the Ozark Press Association and he was secretary of the board of trustees of the Southwest Baptist College at Bolivar for a number of years. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

ELLA M. VIRGINIA WILLIAMS: Born in West Plains, Mo.; died in West Plains, Mo., Apr. 12, 1951. Editor and publisher, with two of her sisters, of the daily and weekly *West Plains Quill* from 1930, when their father, the former owner, died, to 1946, she was also active in civic affairs. She was included in Vol. III of *American Women* published in 1939-40. She was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JOHN H. WOLPERS: Born in Zalma, Mo., Oct. 27, 1880; died at Lake Wappapello, Mo., May 20, 1951. A graduate of Southeast Missouri State Teachers College, he had been a member of the board of curators of the University of Missouri since 1935. He had also been the publisher of the Poplar Bluff *Daily American Republic* since its founding as the *Daily Republican* in 1923, and he had served as president of the Southeast Missouri Press Association in 1930. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

1951 THEME SONG

From the *St Joseph News-Press* of February 19, 1951. Excerpts from "The Jackpot" by Merrill Chilcote:

Who Can Afford Meat?

I think, as now I waken,
 Of days I like the most.
I smelled both toast and bacon
 But now I just smell toast.

Economics Note

We once were told that this inflation
Was merely for a short duration.
Inflation is a deadly curse,
And what is more, it's getting worse.

NAME OF THE TIMES, 1857

From the *Liberty Tribune*, June 16, 1949.

One of the interesting questions asked at the forum was directed at Robert S. Withers: "What was the name of the youngest son of George W. Withers of Fishing River township in 1860?"

The questioner had in his hand a certified copy of page 880 of Volume 5 of the census of 1860. The answer was that this youngest son had been named Border Ruffian Withers and that he was three years old . . . This showed the feeling and the stress of the year 1857 in Clay County in the struggle between Kansas and Missouri over the slavery question . . .

PUT 'ER THERE GAL!

From the *Appleton City Democrat*, November 23, 1875.

The *Tribune* made the following astounding discovery: During leap year the girl who counts all the gray horses she sees, until she gets up to an hundred, will be married within a year to the first gentleman with whom she shakes hands after counting the hundredth horse. Every girl in the city carries a memorandum book that she may be sure to keep a correct record. One has already twenty-six, another eleven, and another

who began only yesterday has seven. If somebody would bring a drove of an hundred gray horses to town today, what a shaking of hands would take place tomorrow.

BUILDING UP GOOD WILL FOR THE SOCIETY COLUMN, 1846

From the *Hannibal Gazette*, November 12, 1846.

To the Ladies

We are gratified to state that we have several Lady Subscribers already [Vol., No. 2]; we intend always, in making our selections, to remember them; their tastes shall be consulted, and we trust we shall be able to make the *Gazette* a favorite with *them* and theirs, as they rule the gentlemen, we shall soon have the names of their lords, actual and prospective. Thank you, ladies, thank you. Nothing under the sun will afford us more pleasure than to eat *that cake* and announce your departure for the *State of Matrimony*—the dominion of King Hymen.

ONE EDITOR WHO WAS NOT A BASEBALL FAN

From the *Richmond Democrat*, May 11, 1882.

Some of the young men about Richmond were very much excited last week when it was learned that the Grand Jury was investigating the matter of their playing base-ball on Sunday. We are not posted as to what was done in the premises but if they were all heavily fined it would serve them right. We haven't a particle of sympathy for a young man, who has arrived at man's estate who will deliberately go out upon a vacant lot in the city, and with his associates, engage in a game, a part of which consists in yelling at the top of his voice on the Sabbath Day, to the disturbance of quiet people in the neighborhood. It is bad enough in the week day.

LANGUAGE LAW

From the *Belle Republican Star*, February 20, 1893.

Last week we printed posters for the town of Belle prohibiting the use of profane and indecent language used on the streets, in public buildings, and in the presence of ladies. The laws of the United States, of course, forbid the use of such language in said places, but for the protection of our mothers and sisters—it is a shame that the town was forced to have posters printed as a reminder and warning.

WHEN ENGLAND BALKED

From the *Belle Republican Star*, April 10, 1903.

The Lathrop mule market, once the largest in the world, is soon to be abandoned, the English government having cancelled an order for 70,000 mules.

THE LATEST BLUSH

From *The Canton Press*, August 10, 1872.

The latest style of hat on the street is decidedly an improvement on the Dolly Varden. It looks like a straw wash basin, with the sides run through a fluting machine, while the "ivy clings to the mouldering wall" over the wearer's left ear. A bit of pink silk linen under the brim throws a delicate blush over the nose of the wearer below.

IN THE PUBLIC EYE

From *The McFall Weekly Mirror*, November 6, 1903. A reprint from the *St. Joseph News*.

No state in the Union is more in the public eye today than Missouri. Its war on boodleism, being the first state to commence an active campaign; its great feat almost accomplished of building the most magnificent World's Fair city in history; its banks holding more money per capita than those of any other state; its school fund more magnificent than that of any other commonwealth; and its rate of taxation lower than any—these are the things that are attracting the attention of all the world to Missouri.

OR WAS IT MISSOURI WEATHER MARK TWAIN DESCRIBED?

From *The Kansas City Star*, April 29, 1944.

"After a long struggle," writes Robert L. Cooke of Springfield, Mass., to the editors of *Time* magazine, "I have gotten most of our New England journals to realize that the classic remark, 'Everybody talks about the weather but nobody does anything about it,' was not Mark Twain's. Charles Dudley Warner, associate editor of the *Hartford Courant* was the man. Mark Twain did say (or write), 'If you don't like the weather in New England, just wait a few minutes.' . . .

DOUBLE PADDED LAP BOARDS FOR CROWDED STREET CARS

From the *Platte City Platte County Argus*, January 18, 1900.

Some of the Kansas City lines are so crowded that men have long stood up and allowed the ladies to have the seats. The men think that by not agreeing to do so any longer the company will be compelled to provide seats for all . . .

So far as the street car problem is concerned it is as old as cities. It seems strange that there is no law to compel street car companies to run cars enough to seat all travelers, in ordinary times at least. Perhaps a good law would be that any passenger taken on a street car, who could not within six squares get a seat, should pay but one cent fare instead of regular fare.

Men might not object to ladies on their laps; but that would hardly be proper; for a lady is not apt to want such a seat publicly. The cars might by law be compelled to carry extra lap boards upholstered on both sides. Then the men with seats could put a lap board on their knees and make ladies comfortable, and such seat would not partake of the embarrassment to a lady as would sitting down ke plank on a stranger's knees, with nothing intervening except ordinary wearing apparel. With the double padded lap board the lady should of course have the choice of holding or being held. In the absence of better laws give us the street car lap boards.

IT'S ABOUT TIME FOR A MONUMENT TO JESSE

From the St. Joseph, Mo. *Museum Graphic*, Spring, 1950. Excerpts from an article by Merrill Chilcote.

. . . Certainly Jesse James never did anything for St. Joseph except that he came here, unknowingly to have his soul separated from all that was mortal. Jesse's record wasn't exactly like Robin Hood's either. Jesse James was a cad. He slew wantonly, sometimes . . .

It was on city election day, April 3, 1882, that a murder took place in a little house up on Lafayette Street hill at Thirteenth. Murders weren't unknown in those days, but when word got out that the victim was Jesse James, the neighborhood, then the city and then the nation were electrified.

St. Joseph knew little of Jesse James until it was revealed the chap named Howard was really the notorious outlaw. He robbed no trains here, he was a model citizen . . .

For some time, St. Joseph scorned its association with Jesse James. Then it merely pretended to scorn him. There came a period of about 20 years when we admitted he was quite a guy, even if he didn't exactly run his affairs in the manner endorsed by Emily Post and the Better Business Bureau. Finally, and not too far away, will be the day when we embrace the memories of Jesse.

FOREST SPRINGS, TOWN THAT DISAPPEARED

From *The Edina Sentinel*, October 7, 1948.

The most pretentious effort made by hardy Knox County pioneers to build a city that resulted in failure is without doubt that known as Forest Springs, located in Colony Township, [five miles] northeast of Knox City. Until recently no sign of the once flourishing and promising village were visible to mark the spot where pioneers planned, labored and built a nice little village [that] there would be at times as many as several thousand visitors to the place during a week.

Forest Springs . . . is on the site of natural springs which still exist, one of which has lately been walled in and preserved in the form

of a well . . . by the present owner who has . . . [converted] it into a lovely picnic grounds.

History relates that a Dr. Palago Conditt or Conduett, as the name is carved on one of the large stones near the spring, discovered the place in 1835 and became interested in the waters which are of mineral content. The following year the land was entered by William Norris, becoming known as Sulphur Springs, the latter name persisting for several years, or until the village was started.

Dr. Conduett eventually located in Forest Springs . . . The place was laid out as a town in April, 1882, by William Johnston who attempted to make it a town and a health resort . . . Advertising, in a rather small way, did bring many people, but gradually the town went into decay. Today only a few scattered boards remain of the original buildings . . .

Numerous carvings of initials . . . are still to be seen [going] back to 1837, 1839 and so on, and one appeared to be 1779 . . .

"BLUE COAT AND BRASS BUTTONS CAN'T BUGGY RIDE WITH ME"

From *The Kansas City Times*, March 29, 1948. Excerpts from an article written by E. A. Braniff, reprinted in substance from the Catholic weekly review, *Commonweal*.

. . . It was the winter of 1902 and I was a very young reporter in Topeka, writing for *The Kansas City Star* . . . No sooner had Mrs. [Carrie] Nation arrived than tough guys from the outside began drifting into town and gathering about the trouble spots. In all the raids it was funny to see how the women were the shock troops, out in front doing the fighting, while the men temperance workers hung on the fringe of the crowd in the safe spots, emitting now and then a weak cheer.

When Mrs. Nation was in jail in Topeka, I saw a good deal of her, especially Sunday afternoons. She did not mind being in jail; it was a rest for the old lady . . .

Her accounts of what a young girl did on a farm in Kentucky and Missouri in Civil War days were a bubbling over of imaginative humor, so rich that I still retain the flavor of it . . .

Her speech was larded with quaint phrases. Many of her expressions were of Civil War times, as when she told me of the young beau in Missouri who asked her to go with him to a country dance. But he had been a Union soldier! A thorough rebel, Carry flashed back: "Blue coat and brass buttons can't buggy ride with me!"

AIRDOMES WERE THE DRIVE-IN THEATERS OF
STOCK COMPANY DAYS

From *The Kansas City Times*, July 11, 1949. Excerpts from an article in "Missouri Notes" by Chester A. Bradley.

Drive-in theaters are being opened in more Missouri towns and in some of them the days of the airdome are being recalled. Such open

air theaters were the drive-ins of the stock company days when live talent took over the stage to entertain with thrillers, comedy or any plot in the books.

The airdome was not a drive-in, but it met the need of having a cool place to present a show in summer. Seats were usually arranged in tiers and U-shaped before the stage, the only covered part of the theater. When a storm came you got a rain-check good for some other night in the week. When it didn't rain you sat under the stars on a hard seat and batted at bugs and the heat with a cardboard fan supplied by the management—with the compliments of various advertisers.

But the show was the thing and the troupers good enough to present at least three different plays a week and do them well.

The "fresh buttered popcorn" industry was not so well developed but you could "buy cracker jack here" and "fresh roasted peanuts." There was lemonade between acts. Soda pop began to appear in the last days of the outdoor 1-week stands by stock companies.

Boys could get a free ticket, even two of them by passing out hand-bills advertising the show during the day, or a small fee by serving as ushers in the stands.

The airdome also made an ideal place for a summertime political meeting, but that was in the days when candidates spoke with lung power and without the aid of electric-powered sound amplifiers.

Like the stock companies and vaudeville, the airdome went out with the advent of the movies.

A CHAPTER ON JOSEPH ROBIDOUX

From the *Moila Temple Bulletin*, St. Joseph, March, 1951. Extracts from an article by Bartlett Boder.

. . . As to Robidoux, he was a Roman Catholic. He was also catholic in the definitions for that word used by dictionaries, to wit: liberal, large hearted, loving all mankind, free from prejudice, of wide sympathies, all-embracing, broad-minded, tolerant . . .

In 1844, Mrs. Israel Landis was the chairman of a committee to raise fifteen dollars for the books for the Union Sunday School (Protestant). She went to Joseph Robidoux and he gave her ten dollars . . .

The first wedding in St. Joseph in 1843, after the town had officially acquired its name, was the marriage of Franklin Robidoux, son of Isidore, and nephew of Joseph, to Mrs. Nancy Bailey, a young widow . . .

With Blacksnake Hills as its center, Joseph Robidoux and his brothers in the 1820s and 1830s operated a vast fan-shaped empire. His brothers Isidore and Louis were at Taos and Santa Fe, New Mexico. Michel operated Robidoux's Fort in Wyoming, while Francis R. was in the Yellowstone region. Connecting these were Antoine, who had trading posts beyond the Shining Mountains in western Colorado and eastern Utah, known as Robidoux forts . . .

With the exception of Louis Robidoux, who founded Riverside, California, and Joseph Robidoux, the brothers were not very successful financially, and they benefited greatly from the generosity of Joseph, they and their children. Three of Joseph's brothers, Antoine, Isidore, and Francis R. are buried in St. Joseph.

. . . The large fortune he accumulated through fur-trading and sale of city lots he gradually gave away to his numerous children, his brothers, and their children, and to the Indians whom he loved. In 1850 he built a fine home, still known as the Beauvais house, at Second and Michel streets, as a present to his daughter Sylvanie. At the same time, he built a beautiful apartment building at 411 Edmond Street, into which his other children speedily moved. He himself died in the modest quarters known as Robidoux Row, Third and Poulin streets . . . He died at the age of eighty-five. He had given away so much of his property that on his death he owned but one city lot valued at \$1,500.

THOMAS HART BENTON IN DEFENSE OF HIS MURALS

From the *Kansas City Times*, March 1, 1937.

Thomas Hart Benton last night continued his tendency to speak as independently and fearlessly as he paints when he subjected himself to the questions of a panel forum at the Community Church . . .

Mr. [Howard] Huselton went on to ask . . . Why for instance, was Jesse James given prominence [in his murals at the state capitol]?

Mr. Benton explained that James was a Missouri institution, that he had learned from reading letters of early settlers that James and his brothers were regarded with veneration.

"Why Frankie and Johnny?" asked Mr. Huselton.

"They are a legend," replied Mr. Benton, "just as Huck Finn and the James boys have become a legend . . ."

"How about the scantily clad dancer?" Mr. Huselton asked.

"Well," said Mr. Benton, "I've been to many business men's parties here and in St. Louis and I want to tell you I put considerable clothes on her."

"Why are your cows so scrawny?"

"It's generally known that milk cows don't get fat. I've never found a dirt farmer yet who criticized my cows . . ."

"Why did you make Missourians all of the hick types?" Mr. Huselton asked.

"There you have it," Mr. Benton replied. "You suggest there is something wrong with the hick. I found him more interesting and more intelligent."

"Why are your men so raw-boned?" persisted Mr. Huselton.

"They are actual men drawn from life. None of them has complained."

"Was Mr. Pendergast drawn from a personal sketch?"

"Yes."

"Are you still friends?"

"That I can't say, I haven't seen him since I sketched him."

"Would you be willing to make substitutions and changes in the murals?"

"No, I would make no change at all," Mr. Benton concluded.

OLD TIME DOUBLE TALK

From the *Kansas City Star*, December 14, 1950. Extracts from an article by E. L. Pigg.

. . . The early settlers who came into Missouri a century ago . . . were imbued with a deep religious faith . . . Then Sunday was strictly observed as a day of rest . . .

A half century ago extensive cattle feeding developed in western Missouri, and it was the cattle feeder who was constantly on the lookout for a trade . . .

The most opportune day for the cattle feeding trader to appear was Sunday . . . While the cattle feeder held to the same sacred code as the farmer, of "no work and no trading on Sunday," yet he found it a most convenient day to "look around."

The cattle feeder would drive up to the farmer's front gate, where he always received a hearty welcome, and after inquiring as to the health of the family and visiting for a while he would bring up the subject of the stock . . . This brought an invitation from the farmer to go out in the pasture and "look at them."

After looking at the stock for a while, the cattle feeder would ask the farmer if he would "sell 'em."

"Well, I might if I could get my price," the farmer would reply . . .

"How much do you want for these steers?" the cattle feeder would ask.

"Well now this is Sunday," the farmer would say, "and I never trade on Sunday." . . .

"Well, I never trade on Sunday, either," the cattle feeder would reply. Then followed several minutes discussion of their religious convictions until each man had satisfied his own conscience, and it was understood that neither would think of such a thing as a trade on Sunday . . .

"If this was tomorrow (Monday), what would you take for these steers?" the cattle feeder would ask.

"Now that is different," the farmer would say. "If this was tomorrow I would take \$35 apiece for 'em." . . .

Then came the third and next to the last stage in the unusual transaction . . .

The third stage would be the "sociable" stage, because it would never do for the sale to be completed quickly . . .

So one would offer the other a "chaw" of tobacco and they'd back up against the fence or side of a barn and pull out knives and start to whittle and chew and spit and dicker for awhile on the stock . . .

However, after a certain amount of this "sociableness" they would get around to an agreement but it was always "as of tomorrow."

"I never sell on Sunday," the farmer would say.

"And I never buy on Sunday" the feeder would reply and then pull out his checkbook and write a check for the stock, but always was careful to date it "tomorrow."

"I might not get down tomorrow," the feeder would say, handing the farmer the check. "May send my hired man for the cattle."

And the farmer would nod knowingly and pocket the check.

RADIO WILL NEVER REPLACE CHAUTAUQUA

From the *Macon Chronicle-Herald*, August 25, 1948. Excerpts from an article by Frank P. Briggs.

These are chautauqua days! To many of our young folks this statement does not mean a thing but to others, those old chautauqua days are revered memories.

. . . I heard many great men speaking from chautauqua platforms that I would never have heard had it not been that far-thinking people at Fayette were willing to dig down in their pockets and get Redpath-Vawter to send in these men.

I recall standing in awe as the crew arrived and started fixing the tent. Each man knew what he was supposed to do and the tent was soon flapping in the breeze. Then the seats were moved in, the platform set up, and musical instruments tuned and everything was ready.

The Swiss Bell Ringers amazed me. How they could grab up those bells and ring them and make the tunes they made I did not see. Then came Bill Bryan, Senator Vardiman, Senator Norris, Senator Johnson—all these men with stirring messages, delivered in the hot summer time without speaking aids, such as we now have to carry the human voice.

Then came Bill Nye, a humorist. He could tell stories about as fast as any man I have ever heard. I recall a quip he made one day that has stayed with me for more than forty years—he said: "My old aunt has taken so many pills that her joints are ball bearing." Everyone laughed and the big tent took it all in stride.

So much did this chautauqua work fascinate me that I decided that I'd go out. I had a contract with White and Brown as a platform manager. My first job was in Nebraska and I was all peped up to get going. But a call came to take me to Oklahoma in newspaper work and there I stayed.

The chautauqua was still in vogue when I came to Macon . . . I sometimes wonder if America is not missing too much in allowing chautauqua days to pass. We can hear these programs over the radio—true—but just turning a dial and hearing a voice, listening to music or the like, doesn't do the thing to the inner man that is done when the man is seen, the whole program unraveled before your very eyes.

I'm ready for the chautauqua to return!

AN AMBASSADOR OF GOOD WILL FROM THE "KINGDOM OF CALLAWAY"

From *The Mexico Evening Ledger*, September 14, 1950.

The late Col. Joseph K. Rickey, one-time resident of Fulton, for whom that popular beverage the "gin rickey" was named, was in his day, one of the best known residents of this country . . .

He died April 23, 1903, and the following is from a New York dispatch to *The Ledger* telling of the Colonel . . .

Joe Rickey was not born in Missouri, but in Iowa. However, he has lived at Fulton, Callaway County, as long as the most intimate friends he now has can remember. He married a daughter of the late Dr. Howard, of Fulton . . .

When Rickey first went to Washington to live [as a "promoter of legislation"] . . . he purchased a place known as "The Store," called by courtesy a wholesale liquor house, but really the favorite resort of a select coterie of experienced old fellows who liked a generous nip of first-class goods without any special trimmings . . .

A few years ago Gov. Francis and Col. John H. Overall were standing in the rotunda of the Hoffman House [New York], when they were approached by a gentleman who called them by name and . . . said "there is a young man playing poker upstairs who is from your State. He is a nice young fellow, but in with a crowd of men who will fleece him of every cent. They have already begun heavy betting and your fellow-statesman is betting money like it was dirt. I thought . . . you might take the liberty of warning him."

"Certainly," said Gov. Francis. "I suppose he is some boy who is seeing New York for the first time. If you will show us the way to the room we will see what we can do for him."

The gentleman led the way to an upstairs room, rapped, was scrutinized and then the trio was admitted. One man at the table had his back to them . . .

The man turned around to see who had come in. Gov. Francis and Col. Overall saw his face. They looked at each other and smiled, and then Col. Overall turned to the stranger and said:

"My friend, that young man has been playing cards for 40 years, and if the gentlemen who are with him get any of his money every registered voter in Missouri will say they are entitled to it."

The "young man" was Joe Rickey . . .

The "gin Rickey" was christened in the colonel's honor, was first made in Washington, then popularized in New York . . .

It consists of a mixture of gin and seltzer (or soda) flavored with a lime. It is well known in St. Louis. So well known, in fact, that a St. Louisan who did not use gin developed a milder concoction, and called it "sarsparilla rickey."

According to Brent Williams, retired newspaperman of Fulton, Col. Rickey did not use gin in the famous Rickey drink. The Colonel took the position that gin was not fit to drink. The Rickey drink as the Colonel made it, was composed of sour mash bourbon, lime and seltzer . . .

WHERE THE DEER AND THE ANTELOPE AND THE
JAMES BOYS ROAMED

From the *Wichita Daily Times*, Wichita Falls, Texas, December 31, 1950.

Excerpts from an article by N. J. Shacklett of Bunker, Mo., who obtained his material from an unpublished diary of the late John Shacklett of Meade County, Ky., who served with Quantrill during the Civil War.

At the close of the Civil War and after the death of Col. Charles W. [sic] Quantrill in Kentucky his forces were scattered . . .

For some Quantrill men there seemed no refuge, no escape from enemies made along the Missouri-Kansas border. Among these were the James and the Younger brothers.

A few years after the Civil War the Youngers made an attempt to return to the farm left them by their father, Judge Henry Younger, who was shot by Federal militia while returning to his farm in southeast Jackson County from Westport. The four brothers, Cole, Jim, Bob, and John, were harassed on every side by roving bands of Kansas "Red Legs."

. . . [They] were forced to fight a battle at night in their own door yard. From that hour on the Youngers were forced to flee.

Across the Missouri River in Clay County the James brothers, Frank and Jesse, had the same situation to deal with. Crimes committed by others were immediately laid at their doorstep . . .

Eventually the Younger brothers . . . did have to lay down their arms on a prairie in Minnesota after a two-day battle with a posse of 150 men immediately after the ill-fated holdup of the Northfield bank . . .

For one time the Jameses found themselves on foot after the raid at Northfield. Both wounded, they managed to make their way to the river bottoms of southwest Minnesota. There they rested by day and traveled by night. After living on green corn and whatever they could

forage for a week or more after Northfield, they met a man on a country road leading two horses . . .

[They] purchased the horses, . . . [and] made their way leisurely to a point on the Missouri River near Running Water, S. D., where a former Quantrill man from Kentucky engaged in steamboating on the Missouri gave them refuge on his boat . . .

Jesse, suffering from severe wounds, was cared for by a doctor on the boat. Frank, who soon recovered, was able to assume the role of clerk on the boat and assisted the captain in many duties on the long trip up the river to Bismarck. Frank went on shore at the landings, and it is recorded that occasionally he joined in card games with some of the soldiers and a deputy U. S. marshal . . .

With Jesse's recovery the James boys returned by boat to their home in Missouri . . . They, in company with two old Quantrill comrades, attended a stage performance one night at the old Walnut Theater in Kansas City . . .

About this time and later, the James brothers in company with an old Quantrill friend, Billie Campbell, who had settled in the Texas Panhandle, made a trip to Texas for cattle. With their herd, they started a drive to Dodge City, spending some time grazing their cattle in No Man's Land in Northwest Oklahoma . . . After seven months on the trail they reached Dodge City . . .

This seems to be their only visit to that hustling, bustling cattle town of the late 1870's . . . Their party consisted of the two Jameses, Billie Campbell, and two cowboys they had employed in Texas.

With their herd of several hundred head safely penned and awaiting cars for shipment east, the James brothers and Campbell engaged room and board at one of the small hotels . . . while the two cowboys, Tom Marcus and an Indian, George Coos, stayed at a boarding house near the stockyards.

A few days after their arrival Marcus and Coos were enjoying some liquid refreshments and their chances in the games at the Long Branch Bar . . . While in a poker game Marcus was accused of cheating by another cowboy . . .

Guns flashed and the bar room was filled with smoke . . .

The Jameses and Campbell were across the street in the little hotel . . . [They] advanced across the street with drawn pistols . . . Frank James dealt one man a heavy blow while Jesse and Campbell pushed their way inside.

Once inside they were met by the owner of the Long Branch, a former Confederate soldier and a friend . . . At his side was Bat Masterson, Dodge City's noted marshal. Quiet was restored . . .

Frank James and Bat Masterson [later] became warm personal friends. But Masterson passed away in New York City in 1921 where he was employed as a sports writer on a New York daily.

THRESHING STORY

From *The Liberty Tribune*, June 17, and June 24, 1948. Excerpts from articles by Robert S. Withers.

When the pioneer families first began to come into Clay County wheat was not the necessity and leading item of diet that it later became . . . Corn bread was the staple article of food and these people lived . . . long and well on the "Ash Cake," the "Hoe Cake," the "Corn Pone," "Spoon Bread," mush and hominy.

The first fields of wheat were very small. They were cut with what was called a "reap hook." The reaper grasped a handful of the standing grain in his left hand and cut it off near the ground with the hooked end . . . [Afterwards] . . . he bound up the . . . wheat he had just cut . . . When the wheat had sufficiently dried for the grain to separate from the chaff and straw, the wheat was laid on a "threshing floor" and beaten out with a "flail."

A flail can be best described as two pitchfork handles tied together end to end with a raw hide thong. One piece, the handle, was smooth and round, like a pitchfork handle, and between 5 and 6 feet long. The other piece was six-sided and about 3½ feet long. The flailer grasped the long piece and raising it above his head brought the short piece down sharply on the wheat spread out on the floor and shattered the grain out of the head.

The straw was taken off with a wooden fork and the grain was removed from the chaff by slowly pouring it out of some container when a good wind was blowing and with repeating the operation the grain was finally clean.

There were a few old flails [still] around . . . but by the time I was old enough to notice things of this kind, we had a machine that would beat the grain out of its chaff, sift and fan it, until it was clean and elevate the straw and chaff into a pile by itself . . . The cleaned grain came out of a spout on one side . . . The man who stood at the end of the straw elevator bore the brunt of . . . the dust and chaff and straw [which] flew right into his face . . . Not only did it choke one but it frequently brought on what was known as "dust" chills . . . There were in every neighborhood persons whom the dust did not seem to bother in the least. There was only one job worse than this and that was the "feeding" of the machine. This job was so strenuous that a man could keep it up for only a very short time . . .

This was a horse powered machine . . . consisting of a set of heavy cog wheels . . . four feet high. Extending from the center were four long oak beams, a mule team hitched to each and they walked around in the circle all day long. The power was transferred to the separator by "universal joints." After a few years of horse power steam began to take over. These steam engines were . . . crude and heavy . . . and

had no motive power of their own. The thresher had to have as many teams as he had with his horse power machine in order to move his outfit . . .

This change-over to steam made two more jobs around the thresher, an engineer and a water boy . . . In the early days when they were fired with wood . . . the engineer was required to chop all the wood that the engine burned . . . Sparks flying from the smoke stack . . . were a constant menace . . . even with the improvement of a screen over the smoke stack . . . One reason why outfits always used a long belt to the separator was to reduce the fire hazard . . .

Few farms were equipped with a supply of water that was easily accessible . . . Most farmers . . . threw a dam across the creek to collect water for the water boy to haul to the engine . . . The tank wagon was driven into the water until it was hub-deep [and was filled] with several hundred bucketsfull . . .

In a few years the engines were improved and could pull themselves . . . A few more years and they were able to pull the separators also and the threshing outfits had to have only one team, the water boy's team.

. . . The "windstacker" . . . took all the straw, dirt and dust out of the wheat and blew it with a big blower up onto the straw pile. Next thing the grain was carried up an elevator and weighed and then delivered into wagon beds without sacking. Then shortly came the self feeder and band cutters and reduced the crew . . .

For a good many years this was the standard outfit . . . Then came the internal combustion engine or oil tractor and the last of the old picturesque figures, the water boy, faded out of the picture . . .

[When combines were first introduced they were believed] impractical for us, our wheat couldn't stand up until it got dead ripe enough to cut and thresh at one operation, our fields were too small, our ground too uneven . . .

Before long, however, we developed stiff strawed wheat that would stand up long enough and we invented combines that were small enough [to be] . . . adaptable to our fields . . .

ST. LOUIS IN 1831

Letter from Archy Kasson, St. Louis, Missouri, to Isaiah and John Townsend, merchants of Albany, [N.Y.?].

St. Louis, 17th Jany. 1831.

Messrs. I. & J. Townsend—

You perceive I do not hail from Florida as expected when I last saw you, although I still think well of my original project, but on arriving at this place, which I did not contemplate visiting when I left home and stopping for a few days, I was led to doubt the propriety of going further, with my feeble means, and taking into consideration the ex-

penditure of time and money and the climate. I at length came to the conclusion to purchase a lot and erect a steam saw mill on the bank of the Mississippi about one mile north of this city, in company with an acquaintance from Massachusetts who came in company with me, who is well acquainted with machinery of this kind. Our engine is now making [made] in this city by a Mr. Queen of New York.

I think mills in this country well conducted to be productive property, indeed this region offers strong inducement for enterprise and capital. As far as I have yet examined the country as to the fertility of its lands, it ought to be satisfactory to any person in search of good lands. Your map will show you the extent of country, with its great length of navigable rivers. Iron ore, which is just beginning to [be] converted into bar iron of the first quality, is in great abundance near the Missouri, about 100 miles of this place. Coal in any quantities is obtained in the banks of our rivers. This city is now supplied with coal from a pit about six miles east of the Mississippi, which is delivered at 10 cents per bushel. It ought and I think will soon be afforded at from 5 to 6 cents the bushel. It is of a good quality.

There is little done as it should be by those who pretend to do anything, which makes it the more interesting to an industrious, persevering and discreet man in constructing his original habits. The rapidity of the settlement of this state by emigrants from the slave states, and the emigrants to Illinois from the free states, are beyond your conception all-together. I am aware of the danger of particular accounts and descriptions, as liberal discounts are generally made from the accounts of western travelers, and I had much rather forego the pleasure of telling big stories than to render myself liable to discount, indeed my personal observations are yet quite limited of the country generally.

This city contains short of 6000 souls according to the late census, but that census is that [to] be incorrect, it is believed to contain at least 7,000 which I should suppose is about the true number. It is well built, mostly with brick and stone, said to be about 200 houses erected the past year. Lots in the business part of the Town 150 feet deep sell from \$100 to \$120 per foot front. Rents also are high from 400 to \$700 for respectable buildings for stores. The best business is jobbing to the country merchants, who get most of their supplies from this place, particularly from this state. More merchants from Illinois go to N. York for goods. This city is the only market short of New Orleans.

On the whole, I can safely say to you, I think this to be a very interesting country. It is much in want of eastern merchants and farmers, and I think that many of them would materially better their situation by changing their situation. I must remain here at least 12 mos. before I return. I made sufficient provision before I left home to meet my stated engagements with you, which I trust will be duly attended to. Mr. Field my agent at Syracuse is instructed to give me

information from time to time, should the European troubles continue and increase as I hope and trust they will until a general reform is effected. I think that property in the small villages will advance in price and be more in demand. If so, this will be the time to dispose of my property at Syracuse.

I have now fulfilled my promise to write you if I located. I have performed it with much caution, as I know you to be acquainted with my ardent temperament, therefor have not been as full in some parts of the story as I otherwise would have been. As to the health of the country, I have a very favourable account from the people. I see no local cause why this city should not be healthy as it is situated on a high bank of the river, faced with rock, with no swamps near, but the uncultivated part, both of Missouri and Illinois, is more or less subject to bilious complaints, probably quite as much or more than the western part of the State of New York.

Flouring mills would be productive business. They make their mills, what few there [are], in the same style as they do everything else, in a miserable style. Wheat about 40 cts, corn 5 to 20 cts, whiskey 28 cts, pork averages \$2½, beef 2 to 2½, butter this winter 8 to 25 cts. The winter is the most severe they have had since 1819, for the last 2 weeks good sleighing, snow about 8 inches, with a full prospect of continuing. I have made my story much longer than I expected, yet I have omitted allmost all that I should have pleased to have said under other circumstances. I will write Miss Connie L. Morton when some other opportunity presents to ? the postage, should they feel any interest in perusing this letter, please hand it to them.

Your most obt serv.

Archy Kasson

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

Architectural Record, February: "Church of St. Francis Xavier" [Kansas City].

Bulletin, Missouri Historical Society, January: "Miss Rubey Remembers," by Evelyn C. Rubey; "Alfred S. Waugh's 'Desultory Wanderings in the Years 1845-46'" (cont.), edited by John Francis McDermott.

Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, April: "Early Printing in the Missouri Synod," by O. A. Dorn.

The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, Number 22: "Thwarted Warrior: the Last Years of Thomas Hart Benton in Tennessee, 1812-1815," by William N. Chambers.

Hobbies, March: "Missouri Shrine: Arrow Rock Tavern"; "Mark Twain Is Entertained by Edward 7th," by Cyril Clemens.

The Journal of Southern History, February: "The South and the West," by William C. Binkley.

The Kiwanis Magazine, September: "A Big Man in a Little Town," [Dr. Arch E. Spellman of Smithville] by Viola Zumwalt.

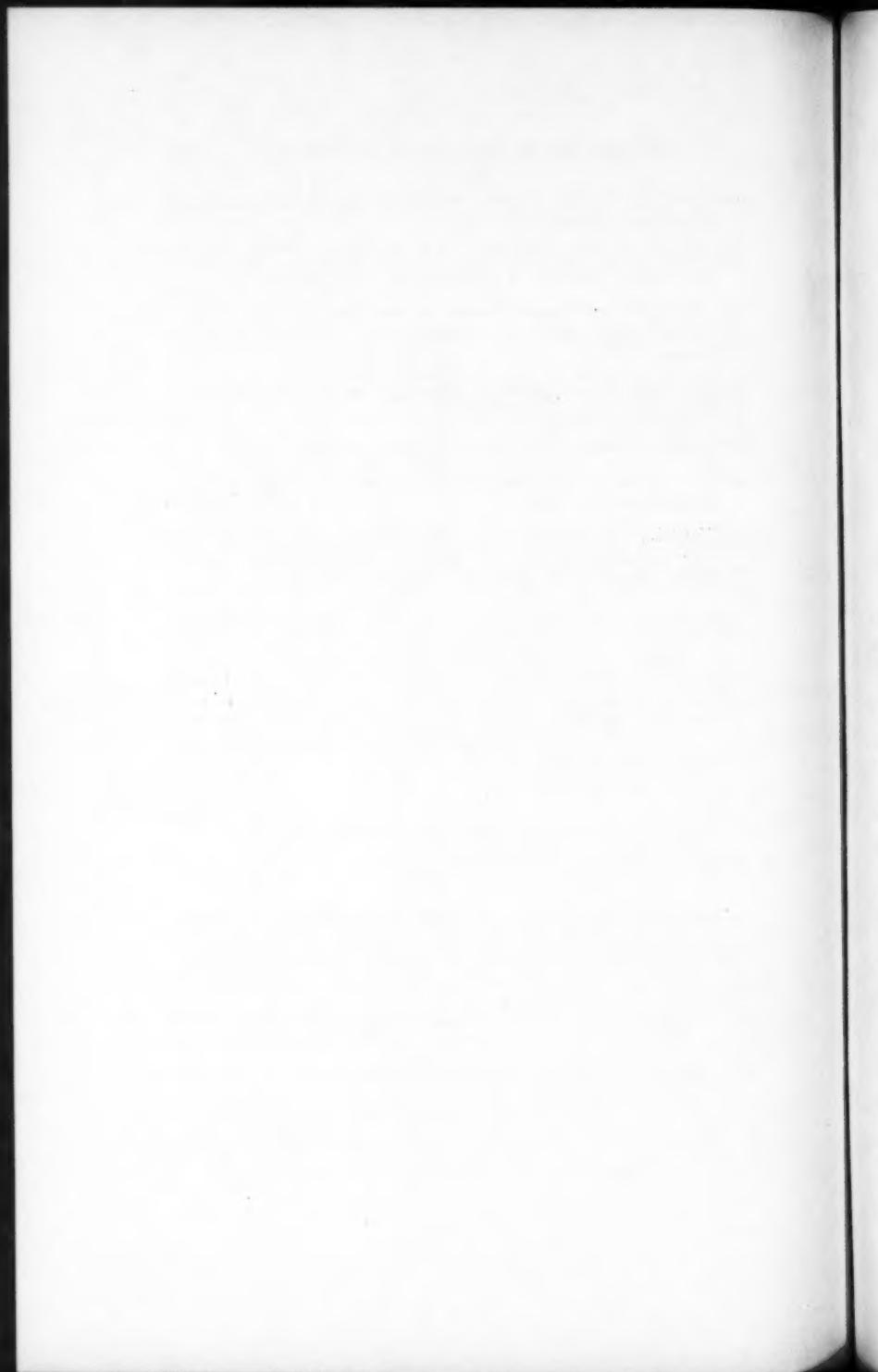
Life, October 16: "Teacher Carries on with Her Job" [in Webster Groves]; *ibid.*, March 26: "Baptism of U. S. Grant," by Stefan Lorant.

Missouri Law Review, January: "Sawyer *et al.* v. Administrator of Injun Joe," by Elmer M. Million.

The Pioneer, January: "Fort Union," by James Anderson.

Saturday Evening Post, September 2: "Cities of America," [Independence] by G. S. Perry.

The Twainian, January-February: "Mark Twain's Revision in Writing 'The Innocents Abroad,'" by Leon T. Dickinson; *ibid.*, March-April: "Mark Twain's Revisions" (cont.).



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